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DIVORCE IN MARION COUNTY.

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Official Reporter in the Marion County Courts.

[A paper prepared in 1908 for the Century Club of Indianapolis and the Marion County Bar Association.]

THE increase of divorce in the United States generally seems to have taken place, not through increased laxity of courts or greater liberality of the laws, but quite the reverse. Locally this increase is taking place in spite of vigorous legislative and judicial efforts to prevent the granting of decrees on insufficient grounds and insufficient proof. Lawyers who have been in the practice for a few years can remember the time when a decree of divorce went as a matter of course in every case where the defendant did not appear and oppose it, and then as now that was exceptional. Proof of residence and the applicant's oath to facts constituting a statutory cause, the defendant not appearing, was all that was necessary.

Down to 1873 the law provided that action for divorce might be maintained by any *bona fide* resident of the State and county wherein the action was brought, without any requirement as to the time they should have been such *bona fide* resident; and, after specifying various causes of divorce, the "seventh" was: "And any other cause for which the court shall deem it proper that a divorce should be granted." This practically made divorce obtainable whenever the parties agreed to separate, and opened the courts of Indiana to all the dissatisfied couples in the United States; and yet even under these conditions, and the difference in population considered, there were, compared with the number we have to-day, few divorce cases. This fact deserves to be

emphasized, as it proves conclusively that the trouble is not in the law, nor in its administration; since the conditions under an infinitely worse law than we have at present were infinitely better.

I have listened to the evidence in more than five hundred divorce cases in a period of four years, and possibly have some knowledge on the subject that has not come to others. The evidence in these cases, while recorded, is in this county scarcely ever written out from the shorthand notes; and hence the facts brought out at such trials are only to a very limited extent accessible to those who are studying the question. Much of the evidence is heard only by the parties concerned, the judges who try the cases and the official reporters.

Until 1904 it was not the custom in Marion county to have the evidence in divorce cases taken down stenographically. It was, however, found that parties whose applications failed in one court, profiting by the experience and knowledge gained at that hearing, would file another petition in one of the other four courts of the county having jurisdiction of such matters, alleging totally different grounds, and when the same came to trial, swearing to a totally different and frequently inconsistent state of facts. To protect themselves against this fraud the judges of the superior and circuit courts ordered the evidence in all divorce cases to be reported. Within the first year the testimony in a half-dozen cases was written out and referred to the grand jury, and effort made to secure the indictment of the parties for perjury. I do not remember that any indictments were returned. I am pretty certain no convictions were ever secured. But the object sought was attained, and, while reckless swearing is still more common in this class of litigation than in any other, there is a great deal less of it than formerly, and the parties are at least careful not to run too great risk of criminal prosecution. When cases involving the same parties are brought a second time, they are now almost invariably filed in the same court that tried the previous case, with such explanation as the circumstances permit.

The United States government was engaged for a year or two collecting divorce statistics from all over the country, to be used in the framing of a uniform divorce law to apply all over the

United States. For two months ten employes of the Census Bureau at Washington were engaged at the court-house in this city going over the papers in divorce cases on file in the clerk's office. They went back as far as the year 1886 and brought their figures down to date. They took the complaints and classified them, according to the causes alleged, and made up a table. Beyond showing the growth of the evil and the ratio of increase to population and marriages, the information thus obtained was not very valuable. Certainly no deductions can be drawn from the classification of causes as set forth in the complaints. Though the complaints are all required to be sworn to by the parties filing them, they seldom state the cause of the domestic unhappiness that has resulted in the application. Indeed, they not infrequently fail to state even the true basis of the application in a legal sense. The real reason why either of the mismated couple desires a separation may not constitute a legal reason. Then a reason that the law recognizes is sought until found. As the statute recognizes several legal grounds for divorce, the real one is often passed over in silence and another is brought forward that will involve less scandal, perhaps, or that possibly will not be fought so vigorously by the defendant. "The statutory grounds alleged are simply the methods whereby the parties comply with the law regulating their separation." For these reasons I say the statistics obtained by the government do not seem to me to be very valuable. They enable us to form some idea of the size of the evil, as it has been found that one marriage in ten ends in divorce, that in some States the ratio is as great as one to five, and that there are more divorces in the United States than in all the rest of the Christian world; but they furnish very little aid in dealing with the question of cause or remedy. That can be gained only by the study of the testimony and evidence in the cases.

The prevalence of divorce is a condition which can not be much bettered by enacting more stringent divorce laws, or making divorce more difficult. Such a course is merely dealing with the symptoms instead of the disease. It is coming at the proposition from the wrong end. If the divorce evil is to be cured, the cause thereof must be found with sufficient definiteness to permit

the application of a remedy, and that remedy must be sought, found and applied before the unhappy parties have consulted attorneys to know what particular provision of the statute makes for their relief, and before the courts are invoked to grant it. For when this stage has been reached, it does not make much difference whether the actual divorce is accorded them by a decree of the court, or whether its issuance is prevented by the strictness of the trial judge or the vigilance of the prosecuting attorney who appears in court to oppose the application where the defendant does not, and where the case would otherwise go by default. The mischief to the community, to the children if there are any, is already done. The number of applications filed is the significant number—not the number of decrees granted.

The theory, heretofore not much more than a theory, which legislators and courts are now making more a matter of practice, is that there are three parties to every divorce suit, the plaintiff, the defendant and the State. It is in following out this theory that the State has provided that the prosecuting attorney shall appear in person, or by deputy, in every case where the defendant is not otherwise represented. Some fraudulent cases, and cases that are brought by collusion, are detected in this way, and the total number of decrees granted rendered somewhat smaller, and to this extent the community is served; but are the conditions behind the application bettered any by the refusal of applications which the prosecutor defeats?

But the difficulties intended to be thrown in the way of easy divorce by this statute are sometimes overcome by collusion of attorneys who make a specialty of this practice. For illustration: A and B, divorce lawyers, each file a petition. They do not want the prosecuting attorney making trouble; so B enters appearance for the defendant in A's case, and A does the same in B's case; then there is no occasion for the prosecuting attorney to mix in, and everything is lovely. As a precaution against the practice, the judges now, when they think the circumstances justify it, require written authority from attorneys claiming to represent defendants. By the operation of this statute the scandal involved in a large and increasing number of divorces granted is somewhat lessened, and the parties whose applications are refused are

thus prevented from marrying again, and again bothering the divorce court for a separation; and this is about the most that can be said for it.

My observation, as I have said, has been entirely local, but so far as this community is concerned—and I know of no reason why what is true of this community should not be true generally of any commercial or industrial center—I think I am justified in saying that the great increase in the number of applications for divorce comes from the working classes, the poorer people, and that divorces are largely due to financial difficulties; though a very considerable portion of the increase must be attributed to the presence of a large and growing colored population. I do not believe that the number of divorces among those fairly well-to-do in this county has increased very much beyond what would be accounted for by the increase in the population. It is not to be inferred from this fact that the poorer people are any less moral than the well-to-do. It is because they are subject to greater temptations and greater trials. Domestic conditions that are tolerable and bearable in the homes of the prosperous become intolerable and unbearable when there are added the difficulties, privations and disputes that are inseparable from a limited or insufficient income. Shortcomings in either husband or wife that would be overlooked, or only the occasion of momentary irritation, in prosperous households, become causes of serious disagreement in families where from smallness of income or lack of thrift in handling what would otherwise be sufficient, want is always present.

Of course, people who talk too much make a deal of trouble everywhere, and naturally, perhaps, more between husband and wife than elsewhere, but, aside from this general fact, parties to divorce proceedings are frequently so exceedingly and mendaciously garrulous as to suggest that there may be some relation between the inability to get along in the married relation and the shallow mentality that is so often accompanied by fluency of speech and extraordinary proficiency in the use of adjectives and epithets. Parties to divorce suits are as a rule more voluble than any other class of litigants. It is almost characteristic. As a rule those who talk a great deal do not consider what they

say. Often the tongues of these people run faster than their minds; they say things without realizing the force and meaning of their words, and even say things without realizing that they are saying them. I have been called upon to read answers in court that, although not three minutes had elapsed since given, were a surprise to the witness that made them, and it was a genuine surprise, not a simulated one. The witness was simply unconscious of having made such a statement a few moments before. A tongue working independently like that can make a heap of trouble anywhere, and especially in the family; and it is a question if quite a number of divorce cases can not be traced to this sort of a weakness in one or the other of the contracting parties. Most of us more readily forgive actual wrongs than hard things said to or about us. A man may wrong us, for his own advantage, perhaps, and not dislike us at all, and our pride is not hurt—and we forget and forgive, some easier than others, but almost everybody eventually—but once let him tell us “what he thinks of us,” of our want of sense, his opinion of our conduct, or our disposition, and we are likely to remember it for all time; it rankles and festers. But this probably was always so, and it does not bear on the question of the increase in the number of divorce suits, except in so far as it is possible that our modern mode of life develops more of this kind of people.

One cause for the great increase in the number of divorces in this and other States is to be found in the changed conditions that now surround the men and women who have joined their lives together, supposedly for better or worse, rather than in any difference in the men and women themselves. Human nature has not changed materially. At least it has not changed for the worse. Perhaps among native Americans there is a little less thrift than formerly, and that fact is important and deserves serious consideration, for divorces are most frequent among the improvident. But the marriage bond is not more lightly regarded, except as the general tendency toward liberality in thought on all religious or semi-religious subjects has led almost everybody to regard as of less importance the forms and ceremonies of religion. But the marriage bond is subjected to strains now that it

was not formerly, and therefore proves insufficient in many cases nowadays where it would have held in the olden times.

In what, then, are present-day conditions different from those of a generation or two ago? And which sex do those conditions most effect? Those are the questions which lie at the root of the divorce trouble. Formerly a woman was dependent upon her father and brothers until some man assumed the burden of her support. Since many women are now financially independent before marriage, they are not of necessity dependent on their husbands for support after marriage, and will not longer accept the conditions of life meekly endured by their mothers. And some husbands, clinging to the old idea, resent this latter-day independence on the part of their wives, and here we have another source of domestic discord.

But, speaking now more particularly with reference to the working people, this increasing independence of woman, the place she has taken among wage-earners in commercial houses and factories, the rapid growth of artificial wants of all kinds, and the establishment and development of what are known as instalment houses and chattel mortgage loan companies to satisfy those wants before the money is earned that would warrant their gratification, are among the prime causes of so much domestic unhappiness, disagreement and finally divorce.

While I have no exact figures on the subject, I do not think it is an exaggeration to say that in ninety-five out of a hundred cases the trouble begins about money. Probably before marriage the wife has been working in a store, laundry, factory or domestic service, and has been making from four to ten dollars a week, living at home or at the place of service, paying nominal or no board, and having the bulk of her wages to spend on dress and pleasure. Many of these girls marry to escape the stigma that is supposed to attach to house service, or the grind of the shop and factory. The husband before marriage earned possibly from nine to eighteen dollars a week, and spent most of it on himself. They have married without any adequate realization of how much each must give up of what they formerly enjoyed, although, so far as that is concerned, I doubt if the children of other generations had a very much greater realization,

at the time of entering the marriage relation, that their life henceforth must be one largely of self-denial, each for the other and both for the children. Generally the first step taken by the newly married is to rent two or three rooms, or a cottage, and the second is to visit an instalment house. The habitation is furnished through this agency. The young couple purchase everything that a polite and resourceful salesman can suggest. They ought to have this; it would be nice to have that. Their purchases are not determined by the amount of money in hand, or an intelligent estimate of prospective income. It is not what can we do with, or what can we get along without, but what it is convenient to have, what it would be nice to have, what their friends have. It is so easy to buy when no money is required. There is no temptation to reckless extravagance more alluring or insidious than the salesman's calculation that the weekly or monthly instalments on the whole bill will only amount to twenty-six or thirty-three cents a day. The young couple never think of the persistent regularity of the drain on resources, of the entire absence of elasticity in the arrangement, that it takes no account of a lay-off, of sickness, death, or any of the other inexorable demands on the family purse.

A lease is executed providing for the payment of the stipulated amount at agreed-upon intervals, and providing that the title to the furniture and furnishings shall remain in the instalment house proprietor until the whole amount shall have been paid, and further providing that on default of any payment the instalment house man may enter and remove his property. Here is the starting point of domestic trouble in many cases. It is soon discovered that the weekly instalments to be paid, no matter what goes unpaid, are very much more burdensome than it was supposed, in the rosy dawn of the honeymoon, they would be. When they are added to the rent and daily household expenses the sum equals or exceeds the husband's earnings. His wages are anticipated, and every Saturday night there is a shortage, instead of something to lay by for sickness, childbirth or the proverbial rainy day, in whatever guise it may come. The wife soon begins to feel the deprivation of pleasures and indulgences to which she has been accustomed. She misses her independence, and espe-

cially misses having her own money sufficient for her needs, without having to ask anybody for it, or account to anybody for the use she has made of it. She is not as amiable as in the first months of their married life. And the husband has been going through something of the same experience. He misses his tobacco money, his beer money, his occasional game of baseball, his companionship with his comrades, because he has not the money to participate in their amusements; he is harrassed by debt, and his inability to provide for his wife the things which she formerly provided for herself and considers necessary for her comfort and happiness. He becomes discouraged and out of humor, and it is manifest in his conduct about the house. He is fault-finding and grouchy, and, instead of making the best of the situation, stays out at nights and spends what money he has in dissipation, the evidence in a number of cases showing the wife to have been left to the chance assistance of neighbors in the supreme hour of confinement. The instalment man becomes importunate and threatens to take possession of the goods and leave the house bare. Perhaps he does remove them. It is not done quietly; can not be, very well. All the wife's neighbors and friends know it. The young wife is mortified and chagrined. She begins to think her husband is not much of a man, or he could earn enough money to take care of her properly, without subjecting her to such humiliations and indignities—other women's husbands do. The man easily comes to the conclusion that the trouble is in the mismanagement of the household, want of capacity and disposition to do the right thing on the part of his wife in looking after current expenses; that, if his wife were not incompetent and careless, she could keep things going without spending all his earnings and running him in debt—other men's wives do. And so each is in a frame of mind to find fault with the other and recrimination begins. Now just assume that there is in either a little more than the ordinary amount of temper, a little more than the usual amount of selfishness, a little less patience and forbearance, a little less sense of obligation of responsibility and duty, and you have the conditions out of which the great majority of the divorce suits in this county grow. In many instances the marriage relation does not continue much be-

yond this point. The instalment house man takes back his furniture, keeping what has been paid on it, the landlord puts a "For Rent" sign on the little cottage, the wife goes back to her folks to live and at the end of two years brings suit for a divorce on the ground of failure to provide and abandonment.

The chattel mortgage company, resorted to in time of stress, frequently brings about the same chain of consequences.

In other cases the couple continue to worry along together, but drifting further and further apart. Having given up the cottage and housekeeping, the instalment man having taken back the furniture and house furnishing so sanguinely and unwisely purchased, they rent a room, perhaps two, and endeavor, more or less earnestly, to get along. But they have lost many points in the game. They no longer admire and respect each other; it is a matter of toleration on both sides. At this stage each is a failure in the eyes of the other, and nobody likes failures. The closer they are to us, the less we like them. There are quarrels and hard things are said. Cruel charges, that are without foundation, frequently, are made in anger; each is neglectful and indifferent to the feelings of the other. Mutual respect is destroyed. There may be violence, and then divorce is sought on the ground of cruel and inhuman treatment.

If neither the husband nor wife has yet reached the point of applying for divorce, and laying bare the sores that every human being instinctively seeks to keep covered, though they continue to live together they get farther apart in spirit and interests until the husband seeks in the society of some other woman, or the wife in the society of some other man, that companionship and sympathy which they have failed to find in each other. Then a decree of separation is asked on the ground of infidelity.

Of course, there are cases that present a different state of facts. There are cases in which the evidence shows one or the other of the parties to be unmistakably bad, vicious and immoral, and sometimes each is successful in showing the other up in that character. Such cases always have been and always will be, and they do not present any different question now than they have heretofore. No conceivable reform in legislation, or in administering the law, can reach that class of cases. The innocent party

in such case is entitled to a divorce, and any legislation or judicial interpretation which would make relief impossible or more difficult would be a step backward.

In cases where both parties are shown to be equally at fault, there can be no divorce in this State. Thus neither of the parties can marry anybody else and bring misery upon them, and eventually more grist to the divorce mill. Can any more than this be said for this provision? Is the morality of the community in any way benefited by keeping such people together?

The discussion of cases which are brought about by vicious tendencies is not likely to be profitable. They are bound to be until all humanity comes up to a much higher plane. It will not be enough to bring up the average, because an average implies extremes; and so long as there are depraved or weak men and women there will be such cases. I am considering, in the main, cases which there ought to be some hope of preventing, if the cause can be found and the remedy applied. A large proportion of the cases I am familiar with are of that kind. Most of them present the features I have given, with only slight variations in detail. It may be said that such difficulties are trivial, sufficient for children's quarrels, but insufficient to cause grown-up men and women with ordinary affection and the usual sense of duty and responsibility to stifle the promptings of the one, and disregard the plain call of the other. That is true enough, as witness the thousands and thousands who do not permit troubles of this character to drive them into the divorce court, but who in spite of them live on together with a reasonable degree of happiness and raise families that are a credit to themselves and of value to the state. The point to be remembered is that to a very large extent the men and women who figure in divorce proceedings have less than ordinary affection, and more frequently less than ordinary sense of duty and responsibility. They are below the normal standard in each—just a little below perhaps, but below. There is one part of the trouble. And yet they are not so far below the normal standard in either but that they would have got along together well enough under the conditions that existed a generation or two ago, when the woman had no thought of being independent, or even being an equal partner

in the domestic establishment, but was contented to regard herself as subordinate to the man, who was the recognized head of the family and of the house. They would have got along together, notwithstanding their weakness in these particulars, before the woman had experienced the satisfaction of earning and spending her own money, when she was animated by no other thought than to make her husband's wages go as far as possible, when there was not the present temptation which besets the workingman and every member of his family to spend more than they have, when there were not the present facilities, invitations and inducements to get in debt.

It will be seen, if my analysis of local conditions is correct, that the two most important factors in the situation are want of thrift, and what is popularly termed the emancipation of women. Of the former I have probably said enough. Concerning the other, the change that the last fifty years has brought about in the attitude of the world toward women, and in the attitude of women toward the world, amounts almost to a revolution. This change is generally considered to be a racial advance, and no doubt it is; but, as in most revolutions there are manifestations during the period of transition, while the process of adaptation to the new conditions is going on, that are not wholly desirable, so it may be that society is suffering a little from the recently acquired freedom and independence of the new woman. It may be better for the race that the lives and characters of future mothers shall be broadened and developed according to the methods of the present day; that they shall be capable as well as amiable; self-reliant instead of dependent; assertive instead of submissive; dominant in the home by force of character and ability as well as by love and affection; but it must be conceded that this result can not be reached without the sacrifice of something that has heretofore been esteemed beautiful and worth cherishing.

In most human institutions one head has been found better than two. Very few business concerns would run successfully with two men exercising equal authority in the same sphere. Where partners have equal financial interest, and, logically, equal authority, it has generally been found expedient to make each

one supreme in certain departments; and this condition obtained in the old fashioned marriage; but in the undivided territory the husband and father was the undisputed head. In some cases, the wife and mother, by reason of natural gifts, being the stronger character, assumed the headship, and the assumption was acquiesced in by the husband; and so in this case there was a head and no disputed authority. This condition seldom obtains in the modern home. It is now regarded by the wife, and conceded by the husband, to be an equal partnership, wherein every question that arises is to be settled by mutual agreement, and if that can not be arrived at, it continues to be a subject of disagreement and discussion until it is settled by the course of events, or until the children, taking sides, settle it according to their notion or inclination, to the absolute destruction of family discipline; or, if that does not happen, until it becomes a source of serious difference between the parents, leading to other differences that finally result in estrangement.

I think it is universally regarded that the present condition of woman is an advance. It has been stated that the degree of civilization of any people may be measured by the respect and consideration shown to its women. On the other hand, it is asserted that woman's advance from the inferior station accorded her under old conditions to her present position of wage-earner and controller of affairs, has been followed to a marked degree by a deterioration of the men in families where the women have thus taken over what were supposed to be men's duties; that without the incentive and responsibility of taking care of their women, men lose some of the best qualities of manhood, in that they become willing to sit by and see their mothers, wives and sisters sharing, and oftentimes carrying more than their share of the burden that was formerly carried by the man alone. I do not know whether this is true or not. It is conceivable. If it is true, it is certainly a subject for grave consideration. The world can get along much better with the women only as good as they have been, than with the men any worse. We do not need better women at the price of worse men. We had better get along with the present article in each case. Those who are alarmed by conditions brought about by woman's release from the bondage of

the past must, however, remember the words of Macauley, "There is only one cure for the evils which newly acquired freedom produces, and that cure is freedom." It may be that the evils we seem to see are simply because emancipated woman has not yet learned to use her freedom wisely, and that as the final and permanent fruits of liberty are said to be wisdom, moderation and mercy, in the end we may hope for a better condition of affairs than the world has yet experienced.

What I have said does not apply so much to divorces among well-to-do people. I do not think the question is so important when considered in its relation to what is understood to be society. It is not so fundamental. The effect of bad example set by people who have had advantages, who are prosperous and conspicuous in the community, is farther reaching; but I do not think the number of such cases is very much in excess of what might be accounted for by the increase in the population, and therefore they do not present the question so much of a growing evil as do the divorces among those less favored by fortune.

There have been some cases among the prosperous, among the young people, whose course it is not difficult to trace. They often seem to be the result of too much self-denial, tenderness and devotion on the part of parents, not tempered by wisdom and good judgment; and this is particularly, though not always, the case where the boy or girl happens to be an only child. In such instances the son or daughter is the first consideration in everything that pertains to the running of the domestic establishment. They are brought up to take everything and give nothing. Everybody's pleasure and convenience is subordinated to their whim and inclination, and they take it all as a matter of course. The boy so spoiled marries a girl so petted. One of the kind, however, is all that is necessary to wreck the home life, unless the other has more than the ordinary amount of good sense, tact and sweetness of disposition. Too frequently each expects from the other the devotion, consideration and sacrifice that they have received from their parents. Neither gets it, and there is disappointment and unhappiness. Where there is good stuff in either or both, the young people eventually find themselves, learn their true relation to each other, adjust themselves to it, and live

happily ever after, as they say in the story books; but when that is not the case there is a separation and a divorce. Every now and then it happens that one or the other of the parties is not all that could be desired, either in disposition or good sense; and from this dissatisfaction at the start differences result that become irreconcilable. Then there are the cases involving unfaithfulness, which as I have said always have been and always will be; but which I do not think are increasing to any alarming extent, except as infidelity is brought about by the conditions I have been talking about.

It is frequently said that marriages are entered upon too lightly nowadays, and that this is the cause of so many divorces; that young people marry with the thought in mind that a divorce is readily obtained if the experiment does not turn out in every way satisfactorily. I do not think this is true. Some may, but I do not think very many young people about to marry ever contemplate the contingency of their not being happy together, or consider the availability of divorce, any more than the man whose passion is aroused to the point of committing murder weighs the possibility of being hanged for it. Most divorces as well as most marriages are among the young, and youth does not calculate. When young people marry they are generally in love, or think they are, which, as far as the likelihood of their calculating nicely the probabilities for or against a satisfactory wedded career is concerned, amounts to the same thing. While the young people of the present day may not fully realize all that marriage involves in the way of mutual sacrifice and forbearance, we do not know that the young people of former generations did any more so; and that probably is not as great a factor in the problem as some others.

Personally, there is nothing so depressing to me as a day of divorce trials, no phase of life that seems so discouraging and hopeless; and one who is brought in contact with these cases constantly needs to remember how many difficult questions this country has settled and settled right, in order to keep his belief in manhood and his faith in womankind. The surprising fact, often remarked by court officials, that the children of these mismatched couples are very frequently above the average in industry,

sense of responsibility and self-denial—in strange contrast to their parents—presents one ray of hope in the situation. It may be that there is something in the law of compensations, and as the infinite unselfishness of loving parents makes selfish children, who in turn make bad husbands and bad wives, so the selfishness and neglect of these husbands and wives, as fathers and mothers, develops unselfishness, self-reliance and capacity in their offspring. If, as is said, struggle is the nursing-mother of greatness, these children are likely to have greatness thrust upon them, for certainly struggle is their portion in life.

In closing, I might sum up my conclusions as follows: That the increasing number of divorces is largely among the poorer people; that it is not due to loose moral ideas among them so much as it is due to economic conditions, and that it is really an economic question that is presented; that work in the direction of encouraging the formation of habits of thrift and economy in living, and creating a wholesome fear of debt in every form, would do a great deal to help the situation, in this county, at any rate.

FORMATION OF THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH IN INDIANA.

BY H. CLAY TRUSTY.

[A paper prepared for the Indianapolis Christian Ministers' Association.]

SCHISMS and discontent reigned in the religious circles of the western frontier at the beginning of the nineteenth century, as they did in the East and in England. In the new country in the West men had better opportunities to establish churches free from elements to which they objected. The general unrest in religious society was due mainly to doctrinal creeds. Religious liberties, like political liberty, were sought by throwing off human authority. Thus the new movement took shape first in ridding itself of "man-made creeds." In an account of the "Great Awakening of Eighteen Hundred," L. W. Bacon says: "There was manifested in various quarters a general revolt against the existence and multiplication of mutually exclusive sects in the Christian family, each limited by humanly devised doctrinal articles and branded with party names." (American Church History, Vol. XIII, p. 241.) These protesting elements in part came together on the basis of a common faith in Christ, and a common acceptance of the divine authority of the Bible. The story of this achievement is the history of the beginnings of the "Disciples of Christ." We shall attempt to trace the development of this movement in Indiana.

In the first decades of the eighteenth century, the Baptists and Methodists were the principal religious bodies in the southern part of the State, while the Presbyterians were strong in the central and northern parts. (R. T. Brown Pamphlet.) The "protesting element" was having great influence in Ohio, Kentucky and Tennessee early in the nineteenth century. Many people were denouncing human creeds and accepting the New Testament as a sufficient rule of faith and practice. "Many of the sober, peaceful, honest, God fearing and God trusting men and women" who came to Indiana from these States were inoculated with this desire for a common ground of religious service and worship. "These people were poor and had endured many hard-

ships," (R. T. Brown Pamphlet) and they sought religious peace and unity. As a result of this, churches which were founded upon the New Testament alone sprang up in several parts of Indiana independent of each other. The three main independent groups were, first, that in southern Indiana, centered about Clark and Jefferson, Orange and Washington counties; second, the developments in eastern Indiana which were centered about Rush and Fayette counties; third, in western Indiana, in Montgomery and Putnam counties. Later, in the period of organization and cooperation, these movements were all united.

First, we shall consider the work as it developed in southern Indiana. Churches which took the New Testament as their creed and basis of union were formed very early in nearly every county in southern Indiana. We divide the work:

- (1) Washington county, led by John Wright.
- (2) Jefferson county, led by Beverly Vawter.
- (3) Clark county, led by Little and Cole.
- (4) Orange county, led by Hostetler.

The development of the religious views held by the "Disciples" is best shown in the lives of the early leaders of the movement.

One of the first men in Indiana to begin preaching the doctrines which led to the breaking away from the orthodox custom of the Protestant churches then established, was John Wright.

The Wrights, Peter and John, moved from Kentucky to Indiana in 1807 and settled in Clark's Grant. (Pioneer Preachers, by Evans, p. 30.) In 1830 they moved to Blue River, Washington county, four miles south of Salem. The Wrights' father was formerly a Quaker, but later united with the Dunkard church. In the year 1810 they organized a "Free Will" Baptist church at Blue River (Pioneer Preachers, p. 31), out of which grew the famous "Blue River Association." This association was formed without the usual "Article of Faith." (Pioneer Preachers, p. 31.) It was irregular in this respect. John Wright from the beginning opposed party names and declared for the Bible alone as a rule of faith and practice. He was probably the first man in Indiana (Life of Benjamin Franklin, p. 163) to take the position that the Bible alone was a sufficient basis of church organization. "He

labored to destroy divisions, and promote union among all the children of God, and in this difficult yet most important service he made his indelible mark." (Pioneer Preachers, p. 31.) He believed that all credal statements are heretical and schismatical. He openly opposed party names in 1819, when he offered, in the church at Blue River, a resolution in favor of discarding their party name, and recommending that they call themselves by some name authorized in the Scriptures. As individuals he was willing that they be called "Friends," "Disciples" or "Christians"; and as a body "the Church of Christ," or "the Church of God." He opposed the term Christian as applied to the church, because it is not so applied in the writings of the Apostles. His resolution was adopted with more unanimity than was expected; and that Baptist church has since been known as the Church of Christ at Blue River. This church dates from 1819. (Pioneer Preachers, p. 32.) From this fact some now claim that Blue River was the first church of Disciples in Indiana. S. P. Mitchel, of Salem, Indiana, says: "John Wright was the pioneer in the movement for reform, holding the same views which Campbell held, and was earlier than the Campbells. (Report from Salem Church, File Butler College Library.) The Wrights knew nothing of the Campbells at the time of this organization, or after they had adopted the resolution cited above. Others even date the beginning of the reformation and first church at 1810, when Wright organized the first Baptist church at Blue River.

From 1819 the Wrights began in earnest the work of reformation in the Baptist church. They met with success, and by the year 1821 nearly all the churches in Blue River Association had discarded the name Baptist and changed their association into an Annual Meeting. (Pioneer Preachers, p. 32.) About this time fifteen Dunkard churches in this section of the country had united on one immersion as sufficient for baptism. (Life of Benjamin Franklin, p. 164.) At the next annual meeting Wright proposed to send a delegation to the annual conference of the Dunkards with a view to forming a union. The proposition was adopted and John Wright was made leader of the delegation. He succeeded in effecting a permanent union of what were formerly Baptist and Dunkards. At the same annual meeting John Wright

proposed similar overtures to the "New Lights." He was appointed to conduct this correspondence on the part of his brethren, which he did with such discretion and ability that a joint convention was assembled in 1828 near Edinburg, Indiana. (Pioneer Preachers, p. 33.) John Wright was the leader of the "Free Will Baptists," Beverly Vawter of the Christian Connection, and Joseph Hostetler of the Dunkards. (R. T. Brown Pamphlet.) This conference resulted in an agreement to be governed in their labors by the teaching and methods followed by the primitive Evangelists, as set forth in the Acts of Apostles. (R. T. Brown Pamphlet.) This was the beginning of the Southern Indiana Association, which later united with the Silver Creek Association.

Up to this time Wright had not embraced A. Campbell's teaching. He had held aloof from the Silver Creek Association on account of the Campbellism introduced by the Littells and Cole. On learning the teachings of the Littells, and finding that their only difference was on the design of baptism, Wright was convinced of his error and led the Southern Indiana Association to a union with the Silver Creek Association. "In this union three thousand people were united upon a common basis, forgetting all minor differences in their devotion to the great interests of their Redeemer's Kingdom." This was the greatest achievement of the Wrights. (Pioneer Preachers, p. 33-34.)

Wright first learned of A. Campbell's teachings through Beverly Vawter, the next leader in southern Indiana that we will consider.

Beverly Vawter was born in Virginia in 1789, moved to Kentucky in 1792, where his father united with the Baptist church. At the age of ten he was baptized into the Baptist church. He remained in the Baptist church until his twenty-second year, when he was excluded. (Pioneer Preachers, p. 105.) He thought no more about religion for five or six years. Vawter was, however, a firm believer in the doctrine of eternal election, and in the direct gift of God through the secret operation of the Holy Spirit. He felt his need of a greater faith, and, in search of "light," applied to a New Light preacher, then to his Baptist uncle, and finally to a Presbyterian preacher. None of these men

was able to satisfy him. Vawter became interested in the study of Matthew, Mark, and the Acts of the Apostles, and in 1817 began comparing the teachings of these books with the teachings of the Baptist church. He chanced to read B. W. Stone's "Essay on Faith." Among the quotations were Romans 10:17, and John 20:30. These helped him in matters of faith. He became more dissatisfied with the Baptist doctrine. He was still on his quest for pardon when he happened upon these texts: "He that believeth and is baptized shall be saved"; "Repent and be baptized, every one of you, in the name of Jesus Christ, for the remission of sins, and you shall receive the gift of the Holy Spirit." Upon these promises he rested. The question arose as to which church he would join, Baptist or New Light. He attended a meeting at the New Light church and heard John McClung present the Bible alone as the sufficient rule of faith and practice; and with great earnestness urge all who loved the Lord Jesus in sincerity to forsake all human creeds and unite on the Bible as the living creed. This turned the scale in favor of the New Lights, and on the first Sunday in January, 1817, he was immersed by McClung. (*Pioneer Preachers*, p. 197.)

Vawter continued to preach in the Baptist churches after he was baptized by McClung, and brought whole churches over into the new movement. This was exemplified at Hogan Creek. (*Pioneer Preachers*, p. 111.) He removed to his Indiana home a few miles above Madison in March, 1819, on the west fork of a little creek called Indian Kentucky. (*Pioneer Preachers*, p. 109.)

When he was preaching in Otto Creek, in 1824, the following incident occurred: "There came to him a woman saying that she had long been 'seeking religion' but could not obtain it; and that she greatly desired to be immersed because the Lord had commanded it. He asked her if she believed that Jesus Christ is the Son of God. When she replied in the affirmative, he said, 'On this profession I will immerse you. "If thou believest with all thy heart thou mayest," is the language of the Book.' But she said, 'My husband has declared that he will whip any man who attempts to baptize me. Must I obey him or my Savior?' Vawter replied, 'It is better to obey God than man; come to the baptizing to-morrow and we shall see.'" He baptized the woman

the next day and went home with her for dinner. (Pioneer Preachers, p. 113.)

As early as 1824 Vawter preached baptism for the remission of sins and the Bible as the rule of faith and practice, but had not entered fully into the early position of the Disciples. (Pioneer Preachers, p. 113.) Theoretically he was with them and sometimes in practice, but in the main he yielded to the mourners' bench method of conversion. (Pioneer Preachers, p. 113.)

Vawter's teaching was so much like that of Campbell's that while preaching near Greensburg, Indiana, in 1826, he was accused of being a "Campbellite." His colaborer, Douglas, explained to him Campbell's doctrine as it had been preached in Kentucky. Here the light of the reformation came to him. Returning home from Greensburg he came to the home of Thomas Jameson. (Pioneer Preachers, p. 115.) Jameson had been reading the *Christian Baptist*, though he belonged to the New Light church. It was here that Vawter came directly under the influence of Campbell's teaching, (R. T. Brown) and was more firmly grounded in his doctrines.

Vawter was the leader of the New Lights in the meeting at Edinburg when the union of Dunkards, New Lights and Baptists was formed in 1828. (Pioneer Preachers, p. 116.) His work was among Baptist and New Light churches. Sectarianism had done its work so well in that community that, out of the fifteen preachers present, Vawter was the only one whose preaching would probably be acceptable to all parties. He preached to them on the "Government and unity of the primitive church," and with such effect that the contemplated union was speedily formed on the Bible creed and Christian name. He organized a church at Kent in 1830. (Pioneer Preachers, p. 117.)

Joseph Hostetler, leader of the Dunkards in the Edinburg Conference of 1828, came into the reformation in the following way: In 1816, after reading and finding what a believer "must do to be saved," he was baptized at his own request. He was then nineteen years of age. His newly discovered doctrines were, that a believer must repent, confess and be baptized in His name for the remission of sins. (Pioneer Preachers, p. 60.) They did not

at that time understand the Christian system in the same way they did later.

In 1819 J. Hostetler and John Riddle organized a Dunkard church at Old Liberty, Orange county, but the organization was irregular from the beginning. When Hostetler was ordained to preach in the Dunkard church, his uncle presented him with a Bible with these words, "Preach and practice what you find in this Book." (Pioneer Preachers, p. 63.) In 1825 he was accused by his brethren of preaching heterodox opinions, but no action was taken against him. The *Christian Baptist* fell into his hands the same year, and in 1826 he preached on primitive Christianity at Orleans, Indiana. This sermon created great interest in the "reform" movement in the community. Hostetler thus began advocating a union of God's people on the Bible alone as the creed. He was opposed to man-made creeds. He was chosen to speak at the conference at Edinburg in 1828, where Vawter and Wright were present with authority to act for their respective churches. Public sentiment had grown rapidly in favor of the Bible as the only platform on which Christians could unite. From 1828 Joseph Hostetler is to be regarded as an advocate of the Disciples' teachings.

Thus the three leaders, Wright, Vawter and Hostetler, came out in the conference at Edinburg in 1828.

Vawter's labors were in what is now Jefferson county near Madison. The Wrights worked in Washington county near Salem, and Hostetler in Orange county. These churches came into the reformation by way of the New Lights, and it is hard to tell just when they became distinctly Christian (Disciple) churches.

While Baptists adopting Disciple principles have generally a well-defined line of transition, yet it is often difficult to mark any specific time when the change was made. Perhaps the best defined line of transition is that, when they determined on meeting every Lord's Day to observe the primitive form of worship, and required all their members to be immersed on the confession of faith in Christ. Measured by this standard, we enumerate the church at Thomas Jameson's home, established in 1827, Old Liberty in 1830, and the church at Kent and Vernon in 1831. Be-

tween 1830 and 1833 about twenty churches adopted the primitive form of worship in the counties of Orange, Harrison, Washington, Floyd, Clark, Jefferson and Jennings. These churches were generally reorganized from the Christian Connection (New Light), Baptists and Dunkards. (R. T. Brown Pamphlet.)

The work in Clark county was led by John T. and Absalom Little and Mordecai Cole, who were leaders in the Silver Creek (Baptist) Association. John T. Little, the leading man of the group, was baptized into the Baptist church in 1816. He helped organize the First Baptist (now Christian) church in New Albany in 1820. The irregularities in this organization caused it to be excluded from the Blue River Association, but it was admitted into the Silver Creek Association in 1821.

The Littles and Cole came under the influence of A. Campbell's teachings in 1826, and they brought a large majority of the churches of the Silver Creek Association into the reformation. As early as 1827 or 1828 they exchanged the name Regular Baptist for Christian, and the Confession of Faith and Rule of Decorum for the Bible alone as their basis of faith and government; they continued their annual meetings, but no legislative business was transacted; letters of encouragement were read. (Christian Record, Vol. II, p. 82.)

When the question of church government came up in the Silver Creek church much discussion followed. Resolutions were offered by the Baptist party to offset Campbell's teaching which was being introduced. The members asked "what the faith of the church was when it was organized," and the question was answered, "by the Philadelphia Confession." They rested under this for a while but later proposed "That the submission to the confession of faith should be a condition of fellowship." This proposition met with strong opposition and disturbed the church for a long time. (Pioneer Preachers, p. 49.) Finally a resolution was offered, demanding "to know from this church whether she is governed by the Old and New Testaments or by the 'Articles of Faith.'" This question was debated and answered by the congregation. "The church says by the Word of God." (Pioneer Preachers, p. 49.)

The church remained under the rules of the Baptist Associa-

tion, and worshiped in a spirit of compromise until 1835, when the final break came. Division first came in the church in New Albany, and soon spread through the whole association. (Pioneer Preachers, p. 51.) The "Reformers" opposed division and tried to persuade their Baptist brethren to accept the Bible as their only rule of faith and practice. (Pioneer Preachers, p. 51.) This was the beginning of the Disciple movement in Clark county, and these came directly out of the Baptist churches.

The Silver Creek Association, led by the Littles, and the Southern Indiana Association, led by the Wrights, united under the influence of these men.

The second independent movement which resulted in the establishment of Christian churches in Indiana was in the eastern part, principally in Rush and Fayette counties. The work started here in the Calvinistic Baptist church. John T. Thompson, a Baptist preacher, subscribed for the *Christian Baptist* in 1826. In the same year he went to Kentucky and found that his people had gone into the Christian (Disciples) church. While in Kentucky he heard John Smith preach and returned home to study the matter out for himself. In Elias Stone's house in Rush county, in the same year, Thompson proclaimed for the first time the gospel as taught in the New Testament, and denounced creeds. This sermon caused much discussion in the community, and the settlers began to study their Bibles and to demand a "thus saith the Lord" for every tenet. Thompson was still regarded as a Baptist preacher, and they undertook to convince him of his error, but failed. This took place in the Flat Rock Baptist church in Rush county. In 1829 about sixty members withdrew from this church, and, with its consent, established a church at Fayetteville, taking the Bible as the sole rule of faith and practice. In 1827-'08 Thompson went to schoolhouses and private dwellings and preached his new doctrines.

When the Baptists found they could not win Thompson back to their view, they prepared to cast him out of their church. He was arraigned before the congregation, and the church, by a majority of seven, decided that his teaching was "according to the Word of God." At the next meeting it was agreed that the Bap-

tists and the Reformers (as the Disciples were called in this section of the country) should use the church on alternate Sundays for worship. On the fourth Sunday in May, 1830, the majority that saved Thompson from expulsion organized the Christian church known as "The Church of Christ at Little Flat Rock." From this church sprang the Columbia, Connersville, Ben Davis and Rushville churches in the next three years.

Engaged in the work of the Disciples in the eastern part of the State were such men as Benjamin F. Reeves, who came from Kentucky to Indiana in 1833. He was a Reformer when he came to the Flat Rock church. Jacob Daubenspeck, who was converted from the Presbyterians by way of the Baptists to the Disciples, brought with him the Ben Davis Creek church in 1832. R. T. Brown, John O'Kane and S. K. Hoshour are three of the most prominent leaders of the State who came from this eastern section.

R. T. Brown joined the Clifty Baptist church in 1825. He subscribed for the *Christian Baptist* in 1826, and became indoctrinated with Campbell's teaching. He went to Cincinnati to medical college, and on his return in 1829 was excluded from the Baptist church with the other Reformers. He located in Connersville in 1832 and continued to preach in various parts of the State. R. T. Brown's confession of faith follows: "Faith is nothing more nor less than a conviction of the truth of any position from evidence. Faith in Jesus Christ is nothing more than a belief of the facts recorded of Him by the Evangelists, to-wit: That Jesus of Nazareth was the promised Messiah, and that he gave impregnable proof of his divine mission by his miraculous birth, by the numerous miracles which he wrought while living, and by his death, resurrection and ascension. The evangelical writings, containing the facts relative to the mighty works which were done by Christ and his apostles, together with the corroborating testimony of the prophecies, form altogether a phalanx of evidence sufficient to convince any reasonable mind that 'Jesus is the Christ.' The popular doctrine of a partial atonement, and unconditional election and reprobation, were alike antichristian and unscriptural." (*Christian Baptist*, June, 1830.) As a result, the Clifty church (Baptist) adopted the following resolution: "Re-

solved, That we will not fellowship the doctrines propagated by A. Campbell, of Bethany, Virginia." From this time Brown preached the doctrines of A. Campbell. It is regarded as the beginning of his public ministry. He was elected to the chair of natural science in the Northwestern Christian University in 1858.

While the developments already traced in southern and eastern Indiana were progressing, there was still another group of men in western Indiana who were making progress toward a common ground of union. Michael Combs, James Hughs and John Secrest, ministers of the Christian Connection (New Light) were preaching in several churches of that order in Montgomery and Putnam counties. From 1827 they began to insist on a closer conformity to the "apostolic model of evangelization and primitive order of worship." Thomas Lockhart joined them and began to preach the same doctrines in Hendricks county. (R. T. Brown Pamphlet.)

Michael Combs was converted to the New Light faith in Wayne county, Indiana. In 1826 he moved to Montgomery county, Indiana, where he organized a little church near or upon his farm. The organization was subsequently removed to Crawfordsville. From Crawfordsville Combs visited many churches in the White river valley, and at most, if not all of them, he was the first to oppose human creeds and to plead for the union of all Christians on the Bible alone. (Pioneer Preachers, p. 147.) About this time he began hearing "startling" rumors concerning "one A. Campbell, who was said to be a great fault-finder at Bethany, Virginia." Combs did not at this time subscribe for the *Christian Baptist* and continued in the New Light church for the next three or four years. Combs heard Campbell speak on one of his trips west and subscribed for the *Christian Baptist*. He held the views of Campbell a long time before he preached them, fearing the attitude of the people toward these opinions. But finally, after being urged by his friends, who knew his views, to preach them, he preached that "Men are required to repent and be baptized in the name of Jesus Christ for the remission of sins," for the first time at a protracted meeting at Edgar, Illinois, in 1833.

From this time the "great conflict" began in western Indiana. (Pioneer Preachers, p. 149.) Public debates and private disputations followed. The work in the western part of the State was strengthened by the coming of Job Combs and J. Secrest, both from Ohio.

This work became associated with the work in Bartholomew county through the New Lights. Michael Combs went to Bartholomew county on some business. Conversing one day with an old lady and gentleman on the subject of religion, he found that they differed widely, and was drawn into a spirited discussion. Finally the old lady remarked to her husband that "This stranger is like Joe Fasset." Through this remark Combs was led to the "New Hope" (New Light) church in the community, and found that it was holding views similar to his own. They immediately set about a scheme to unite the New Light churches of Bartholomew and adjoining counties to the north and west with the Disciples of Montgomery county.

A meeting to this end was held at the bluffs on White river in Morgan county. Hundreds of people and a great number of preachers of both parties met there. It was agreed that preachers who had been Calvinistic Baptists and those who were called "Arminian New Lights" should preach a few sermons alternately in order to make manifest the difference between the two parties. The meeting continued from Friday evening to Monday morning. Fasset was leader of the New Light movement. Both parties denounced all human creeds, and they both preached "the doctrine of Scripture given by inspiration of God." There appeared no material difference between them, and they were all united in the Christian (Disciple) church at this meeting. (Pioneer Preachers, p. 146-151.)

About the same time Michael Combs was invited to speak at a meeting at Bloomington, Indiana. He accepted the invitation and found the people inclined to listen to his "peculiar views." A great interest was awakened in the community, and from this beginning nearly all the New Light churches in Monroe county were won to the Christian (Disciple) church. (Pioneer Preachers, p. 152.) The way in which churches came to accept Campbell's doctrine shows that the influence of Campbell's teach-

ing extended for some years farther than his name was known. Those who urged that the Bible alone is a sufficient rule of faith and practice, that faith is a belief, that man is a responsible being, that the followers of the Lord Jesus should be recognized only by Bible names, did not advertise these as Mr. Campbell's views. And so, passing from one to the other, they came to be received by many persons who knew nothing of Mr. Campbell. In some cases men accepted the doctrine of "Baptism for the remission of sins" as taught in the Bible, and at the same time they looked upon Mr. Campbell as a great heretic for preaching "Baptismal regeneration," never once suspecting that this was only a perversion of what he really taught. (*Life of Benjamin Franklin*, p. 167.)

These facts lead the writer to believe that Mr. Campbell was only the leader of a great host of people who were anxious to get away from the abuses of sectarianism and back (or forward) to the apostolic practices of the Christian church. His success was due to the fact that people were ready to be led to a common basis of unity. It is hard to tell who was the first man to introduce A. Campbell's doctrine into the State. His doctrines were labelled as heresies in Baptist churches early in the 20's and were first known in many quarters as such. Mr. Stott echoes an early Baptist view when he says that Alexander Campbell was known in Baptist churches in southern Indiana as being opposed to missions, education, Sunday-schools, and paid ministry, as early as 1819. (*Stott, Baptist History*, p. 56.) This surely is a misunderstanding of A. Campbell's views. As early as 1826 the White River Baptist Association sent out circular letters saying in the fifteenth article: "We reject the doctrines of A. Campbell and advise churches composing our body to do the same, believing them to be contrary to the doctrine of God our Savior." (*Stott, Baptist History*, p. 106.) In a letter to the churches in Knox and Gibson counties in 1827, the Baptists are strong in their condemnations of the Foreign Missionary Board of the Baptist church and of the brethren holding the views of A. Campbell and his friends. (*Stott, Baptist History*, p. 63.)

The earliest account we have of the introduction of A. Camp-

bell's doctrine into Indiana is through Thomas Jameson, father of Love H. Jameson. Thomas Jameson was a member of the Church of Scotland, but was baptized by John McClung, a New Light preacher, in 1816. In the spring of 1818 Thomas Jameson chanced to form the acquaintance of Mr. Joseph Bryant, a brother-in-law of Alexander Campbell. From Mr. Bryant Jameson heard for the first time of Mr. Campbell and of the changes he recommended in the return to the ancient order of worship. Soon after, he received a pamphlet published by Thomas and Alexander Campbell in which was presented at length "The Basis of Christian Union." This pamphlet was published in 1809, three years before the Campbells withdrew from the Presbyterian church. Thomas Jameson was well pleased with the new ideas of the Campbells, and would gladly have read more from the same source. But he heard no more of the Reformation until 1826, when he received the *Christian Baptist*. (Pioneer Preachers, p. 263.)

Beverly Vawter learned of the *Christian Baptist* at Thomas Jameson's home in 1826. After this time Vawter would approach the penitents at the mourners' bench, brought there by Baptists and New Light preachers, with the question, "Why tarriest thou? Arise and be baptized and wash away thy sins, calling on the name of the Lord." Many of them would gladly receive the Word and the same hour of the night would obey from the heart the doctrine delivered to them. (Pioneer Preachers, p. 117.)

The church in which Thomas Jameson worshiped and to which Vawter came was the "Liberty Church" (New Light) organized by John McClung in 1812. They had no meeting-house but met in the woods. This church was Disciple from 1827. (L. H. Jameson Pamphlet.) Old Liberty was organized in 1830, and the church at Kent and Vernon in 1831. (R. T. Brown.)

The *Christian Baptist* came into Indiana in 1826 chiefly to Baptists and members of the New Light churches. The Baptists stopped taking the paper after 1826-'27. (R. T. Brown.) This accounts for the starting of churches over the State upon the same basis and independent of one another. Campbell's teaching came into the Silver Creek (Baptist) Association through the *Christian Baptist*. In April, 1829, the Silver Creek church renounced its

former confession of faith and accepted Campbell's doctrine. (Stott, p. 51.)

The chief point of difference between Reformers and Baptists was as to the article of faith. The question which formed the entering wedge for Campbell's teaching was: "Is it consistent to have articles of faith?" Some churches retained the name Baptist after they had discarded the articles of faith. (Stott, p. 59.)

In Lawrence county the work began early. The Indian Creek Christian Church was first organized as a Baptist church in 1818. In 1827, fourteen old school Baptists withdrew from this church and formed a church below Silverville. Those who remained in the church were constituted into the present Indian Creek Christian Church. The principal families entering into this work were the Shorts, Mayfields and Armstrongs. The church at Springville was brought into the Reformation in 1839. Wesley Short introduced the doctrine of A. Campbell and was visited by A. Campbell on his first visit to Lawrence county in 1848. (History of Lawrence County, Goodspeed.) The church at Letherwood, Lawrence county, was first organized as a Christian church (Disciple) in October, 1830, in the home of Robert Woody, five miles east of Bedford. This was the first church in the county which was a Christian church from the very first.

In 1824 Cary Smith, a young preacher in Wayne county, felt himself called to go on a preaching tour through the Southern States. In Kentucky, chancing to see some numbers of the *Christian Baptist*, he became so interested in it that he ordered two copies of the work, so far as published, to be sent, one to himself and one to his father. This was the first introduction of Campbell's teachings, so far as is known, in eastern Indiana. (Life of Franklin, p. 130.) J. T. Thompson subscribed for the *Christian Baptist* in 1826, and was influenced by its teachings. (R. T. Brown.)

The earliest public development in eastern Indiana was in a meeting of the Flat Rock Baptist Association in the fall of 1827, when a motion was made to revise the "Articles of Faith." This was opposed by Joe Fasset and Irwin, of the New Hope Church, in Bartholomew county. In 1828 the New Hope Church reported to the Baptist Association that the New Testament was a sufficient rule of faith and practice. In 1829 this church dropped the

name Baptist for the name Christian. The church continued to meet monthly until 1830, when it began to meet every week to "break bread." (R. T. Brown.) There is a difference of opinion as to when this church became Disciple, some dating it soon after a division in the church over the articles of faith in 1825. (Article in *Christian Evangelist*, May 13, 1909.) This seems to be a case of development from Baptist to New Light in 1825, and then to the position of the Disciples in 1830. Joe Fasset is referred to as a New Light in 1833, when he met Michael Combs.

Alexander Campbell visited Indiana for the first time in 1826. (*Christian Baptist*, p. 320.) On his return home he writes describing the deplorable state of family worship in the Baptist churches. He later says: "(1) The counties far remote from each other and without the identifying influence of ecclesiastical jurisdiction, in the form of superintending judicatories, appear to have agreed in making the Scriptures the sole and all sufficient rule of faith and manners without the assistance of any creed or formula of human contrivance. (2) They appear to have drawn from the same source the same general views of the genius and design of the institutions of public weekly meetings of Christians on the first day of the week. (3) They concur in principal items of worship. (4) They have the same regard for nature of the Grace of God and the need for a moral and pious Life." (*Christian Baptist*, p. 442.)

Campbell came into Indiana from Cincinnati in 1850. He traveled through the State, and everywhere the people manifested great anxiety to see him. It was difficult to find meeting places large enough to accommodate the assemblies. At Indianapolis the Governor and the whole State convention (assembled to revise the constitution) attended his meeting. He visited Bloomington, Bedford and Brookville on this trip. (Memoirs of Campbell, Richardson, p. 589.)

In 1857 Campbell visited Indianapolis again. On this trip he spoke at the Y. M. C. A. and at the Christian Church. He was soliciting funds for Bethany College. The third tour was in 1860-'61, with his wife and Isaac Errett. (Memoirs of Campbell, Richardson, Vol. II, p. 626 and 641.) By this time the Disciples were numerous in the State, and the movement may be said to be well established.

ANCIENT MOUNDS AND ENCLOSURES IN INDIANA.

BY *BARCUS TICHENOR.*

[A paper prepared for the seminar in local history in Butler College.]

THE largest group of mounds and enclosures in the region of the Great Lakes, the Mississippi valley and the Gulf coast seems to have been along the Ohio and Mississippi rivers, and especially near their convergence. Judge N. R. Overman says (Prehistoric and Indian History of Howard and Tipton Counties, Indiana, p. 5): "It is probable that at the confluence of the Ohio and Mississippi rivers, two widely converging lines, the Mound Builders met in solemn council to give laws, adjust and determine difficulties between settlements and states. More than twelve hundred enclosures and ten thousand mounds have been counted in Ohio. Indiana, too, is but little less fertile in these antiquities."

The mounds are generally simple cones in form. Often they are truncated and sometimes terraced. They are also elliptical, pear shaped, or of a square pyramid form. The mounds are generally built of earth. However, stone mounds are often found. The enclosures, too, are generally made of earth and are of all shapes, although many of them are true parallelograms. They seem to have been mostly for defense. The areas within these enclosures vary from less than an acre to twenty or thirty acres. In selecting the sites for their mounds the Mound Builders chose high and prominent places. The mounds are often found where least expected—perhaps overlooking some waterfall. They are generally found along river terraces, which were advantageous from a military point of view, and also near water, fish, and the fertile land of the river valley. These mounds and enclosures are now not nearly so high as they have been in the past. The natural wear of the weather and cultivation during several generations have left them much lower than they were when they were first built.

Squier and Davis' "Ancient Monuments of the Mississippi Valley," Volume I of Smithsonian Contributions to Knowledge

(1847), is one of the best authorities upon the subject of mounds and Mound Builders. They divide mounds (p. 140) into four classes: (1) Altar mounds or mounds containing altars, which vary in size from two feet square to fifty feet in length by twelve or fifteen feet in width. (2) Mounds of sepulture, which stand outside the enclosures in a position more or less distant from them. (3) Temple mounds, which have great regularity of form, are generally large, are pyramidal, truncated, and generally have graded avenues to their tops. (4) Anomalous (or miscellaneous) mounds, including mounds of observation. Mounds of observation are generally to be found in the most commanding places, and many of them contain human remains, undoubtedly those of Mound Builders.

Mounds and enclosures in Indiana are very numerous, although not so much so as in Ohio. If we take up, one by one, the counties that have earthworks of importance in them, we see that the number of mounds in the southern part of Indiana is much greater than in the northern. Nevertheless, mounds are found as far north as Laporte county. Mr. Foster (*Prehistoric Races of the United States*, p. 143) says that "about twelve miles from Laporte, on the banks of a small tributary of the Kankakee, there are not less than twenty in number, some of which have been explored by Dr. Higday with highly satisfactory results." At different times five skeletons and one skull have been taken from various mounds in this place, besides several copper hatchets, some earthen vessels, flint knives and what he calls "copper needles" or awls. These mounds are all different heights, the lowest that he mentions being about six feet high. He mentions one which was fifteen feet in height and another which he says was originally perhaps about twenty feet high (p. 143). Mr. Foster quotes the following from Dr. Higday: "A horizontal layer of ashes, about two inches thick in the middle and thinning out toward the circumference, was struck thirteen feet from the top. Three feet below the ashes we came upon a pipe, a copper needle, pieces of pottery and two adult skeletons, one of which was nearly entire, lying on what must have been a log of wood, but now so decayed that it could be readily pulverized by the hand" (p. 144).

Judge N. R. Overman describes the work of the Mound Builders in Howard and Tipton counties. Of Tipton county he says (*Prehistoric and Indian History of Howard and Tipton Counties*, p. 5): "From the Wabash they followed up the Wildcat to its headwaters in the northeast part of the county, and there established a colony and cultivated the soil. The southeast part of the county was still more densely populated. From their metropolis and ancient circle at Strawtown on the White river, they followed up Duck creek and formed a continuous line of settlements on its bank and through that portion of the county. There, a stone circle, several sacrificial mounds and burial mounds with highly polished implements, bear evidence of their ancient existence. Again, we find remains of that strange people in the southwest part of the county on the banks of Cicero creek." He also says (*Prehistoric and Indian History of Howard and Tipton Counties*, p. 17): "Howard county is no less fertile and probably more so than Tipton in prehistoric remains." Mr. Cox says (*Geological Report of Indiana for 1878*, p. 128): "There are a number of circular earthwork enclosures in Hamilton and Tipton counties. The principal works in Tipton county are close to Strawtown and in a cultivated field. The largest is a circle with an open gateway on one side. It has been so badly obliterated by the plow that I was unable to make a complete survey of it."

There are two accounts of the earthworks of Madison county, one of them by E. T. Cox (*E. T. Cox: Geological Survey of Indiana for 1878. Antiquities*, p. 129), published in 1878, the other by Francis A. Walker (*Francis A. Walker: Ancient Earthworks near Anderson, Indiana, Proceedings of the Indiana Academy of Science for 1892*, p. 51), published in 1892. The two accounts differ slightly as to the number of mounds and as to the measurements of them. This, however, may be accounted for by the great difference in the time of the two investigations. The works which are known throughout the adjoining country as "The Mounds" are about three miles from Anderson on the south bank of White river. They are situated on a bluff seventy-five feet in height in the highest position in the vicinity. The high location is an important fact, as the mound is one of defense. The system

consists of one large and six or seven smaller earthworks, the smaller ones lying south and west of the large one.

The principal work (see map, p. 131 of Geological Survey of Indiana for 1878) is a circular embankment with a ditch on the inside and a mound in the center of the enclosure. The gateway is 30 feet wide and opens to the south. The ditch terminates on each side of it, so that carriages may enter and drive around the mound. The work is a true circle, 384 feet in diameter by Cox's measurement (p. 129), or 360 feet, with an area of 2.35 acres, according to Walker (p. 51). The enclosed part within the ditch is about 140 feet in diameter, with an area of about a third of an acre. The ditch is 60 feet wide and is $10\frac{1}{2}$ feet deep according to Mr. Cox, while Mr. Walker estimates its average depth at 6.92 feet. The embankment is, at its base, 50 or 60 feet wide and has an average height of 8 or 9 feet, with a variance of 3.3 feet. The mound in the center is 4 feet high and 30 feet in diameter.

Mr. Walker says (Proceedings of the Indiana Academy of Science for 1892, p. 53): "About ten years ago the writer and Dr. Joseph Tingley, then of Asbury University, made an excavation in the center of the mound in the main works. At a depth of four feet we found a bed of ashes, charcoal and burned bones, the bones crumbling on exposure to the atmosphere. Dr. Tingley claimed they were not human, but small animal bones. We found no stone or any arrangement of the earth in the form of an altar, and the fire seemed to have been there before the mound was built above it. The earth was baked and reddened by the action of the intense heat of the same. * * * We dug down about two feet below this stratum, but found no further evidence of fire or any unusual arrangement of the earth, nor any evidence that the same had been disturbed further than by the construction of the central area, which had been filled as before mentioned" (p. 53).

Of the other seven mounds besides this principal one, four are circular and three are of irregular shape (see map, p. 131 of Geological Survey of Indiana for 1878), one of which has two gateways. One has one gate and another has none visible.

"On the same section (Geological Survey of Indiana for 1878, p. 133) of land, but half a mile farther up the river and on the

same side of the stream, there is another cluster of earthworks that are of nearly equal interest. In fact, the principal work is in some respects more remarkable than the large circle above. The outline is irregular (see map on page 135 of Geological Survey of Indiana for 1878), constricted on one end and at the side; at the other end there is a gateway nine feet wide protected by two small mounds now about four feet high. The wall is thirty to thirty-five feet wide at the base and about four feet high. The ditch is eight feet wide."

In Randolph county, "besides a number of well-defined made mounds in the neighborhood of Lynn station, there are frequent examples of natural mounds. These are usually much larger than the artificial mounds. Some of these mounds of modified drifts have been utilized by ancient people as burial grounds." (Joseph Moore: "Concerning a Burial Mound Recently Opened in Randolph County," Proceedings of the Indiana Academy of Science for 1894, p. 46.) In one, about 150 yards in circumference, an aqueous deposit, many skeletons have been found. "Some of them were in a sitting posture with the chin crowded upon the knees. The skeletons were of both sexes and various ages, some quite young. There is quite a diversity in the shape of the skulls."

"The largest walled enclosure in the State (Geological Survey of Indiana for 1878, p. 134) is situated near the town of Winchester in Randolph county. It contains thirty-one acres. The whole thing is now in a fair way to be entirely obliterated. * * * There are two gateways (see p. 137 of Geological Survey of Indiana for 1878), one on the eastern end which is twelve feet wide and has no defenses, Sugar creek and the intervening bluff probably being deemed sufficient. At the west end there is an embankment in the shape of a half circle which overlaps the gate and complicates the passageway. The enclosure is in the shape of a parallelogram with curved angles. The sides are 1,320 feet long and the ends 1,080 feet. There is a mound in the center one hundred feet in diameter and nine feet high. * * * The location was selected with due regard to protection against sudden attack of an enemy. It is at the juncture of Sugar creek

and White river, which affords protection to two sides, and the mound in the center serves as a lookout station."

"Mounds occur in Fountain county near Covington and to the north of Attica; in fact, the whole valley of the Wabash must have been, in former times, the seat of a numerous population, forming, as it did, the great artery of communication between the Ohio river and the Lake region to the north." (Foster's Prehistoric Races, etc., p. 143.)

Mr. T. B. Redding is authority for the following statement as to Henry county (Prehistoric Earthworks of Henry County, Indiana, in the Proceedings of the Indiana Academy of Science, 1891): "There are twenty artificial mounds and fourteen enclosures within the limits of Henry county. There are also certain mounds or elevations that have much the appearance of artificial mounds, but of which I am not sure, numbering in all twelve to fourteen, and one uncertain enclosure. Of these the strong probability is that some are artificial. There is a circular enclosure in Henry township. Its diameter is 115 feet; the height of embankment, at the highest point from the bottom of the ditch, is about three feet. There is an open space or gateway on the east side about twelve feet wide. There is the appearance of a small mound inside of the enclosure toward the west side, about fifteen feet in diameter and eighteen to twenty-four inches high. I will say here that in all the enclosures in this county the ditches are on the inside of the enclosure."

A number of mounds are reported in Vigo and Vermillion counties. (Geological Survey of Indiana for 1878, p. 128.)

Mounds are abundant in Green, Owen and Morgan counties. In the latter they have furnished a great many interesting relics. Some mounds are said to have existed at one time in the city limits of Indianapolis, but they have given way to the changes required by the growth and development of the city. (Geological Survey of Indiana for 1878, p. 128.)

In Bartholomew county there are several mounds, and several skeletons have been found in them, especially in Wayne township. "A circular mound sixty feet in diameter and about three feet high, but by cultivation now almost level with the surface of the field, is situated in Wayne township. Some years ago it was

explored and five skeletons were found besides numerous stone implements. Many articles of stone, together with fragments of bones, have since been obtained." (J. J. Edwards: Mounds and Burial Grounds of Bartholomew County, Indiana, Proceedings of Academy of Science for 1901.)

There is an ancient fort on the hill, north of Hardentown in Dearborn county, Indiana. The wall is four feet high in places, and is partly constructed of loose stones and partly of earth. There are two gateways on the north end formed by an earthwork that is nearly circular. The hill is nearly two hundred feet high and commands an extensive view over the country around. On the ridge leading to the northeast and northwest there are eight mounds.

There are a large number of mounds in the vicinity of Aurora, and quite a large mound was within the city limits, but was long ago almost entirely removed by cutting a streetway through it. (Antiquities: Geological Survey of Indiana for 1878, p. 122.)

Mr. Foster quotes the following from Mr. John Collett's report of the Geological Survey of Sullivan County (Prehistoric Races, etc., p. 142): "Numerous earthworks are found in this region of such an extent as to require for their construction time and persistent labor of many people. Situated on the river bluffs, their location combines picturesque scenery, susceptibility for defense and convenience to transportation, water and productive lands. These are not requisites in the nomadic life of the red men, and identify the Mound Builders as a partly civilized agricultural people."

The principal earthworks of Sullivan county are on the east bank of the Wabash river at Merom. This enclosure has been called Fort Azatlan, and is one of the principal ones of Indiana. It is irregular, but on the whole may be called three-sided. (See map, p. 134, of Foster's Prehistoric Races.) "On the river side the bank * * * is very steep, and forms the western line of fortification, while deep ravines add to its strength on the other sides, the weak points being strengthened by earthworks. The general course of the work is from the north, where it is very narrow, not over fifty feet, owing to the formation of the plateau, south along the river bank * * * to its widest portion, which

is here about 375 feet east and west. * * * There is a continued line, in part natural and in part artificial, which if measured in all its ins and outs would not be far from 2,450 feet.

* * * This location is the one spot of the region, for several miles along the river, that would be selected to-day for the erection of a fortification in the vicinity, with the addition of the possession of a small eminence to the north." Inside the enclosure there are five mounds and forty-five depressions, all of which are circular except one, and that is oval. (Foster, p. 136.) After having dug into two of the depressions, Mr. Putnam decided that they had been large pits that had been filled up by "the accumulation of vegetable matter and soil that had been deposited by natural action alone." A trench was dug across one of them and "the former bottom was reached at a depth of about five feet. On this bottom ashes and burnt clay gave evidence of an ancient fire, and at a few feet on one side several pieces of pottery, a few bones of animals and one stone arrowhead were found. A spot had evidently been struck where food had been cooked and eaten. * * * The legitimate conclusion to be drawn from the facts is that these pits were the houses of the inhabitants or defenders of the fort, who were probably further protected from the elements and arrows of assailants by a roof of logs and bark or boughs. The position of all the mounds within the enclosure * * * is such as to suggest that they were used as observatories, and it may be questioned if the human and other remains found in them were placed there by the occupants of the fort, or are to be considered under the head of intrusive burials by a later race."

In Knox county, near Vincennes, there are several mounds of unusual size. (Geological Survey of Indiana for 1878, p. 127.) Mr. Foster says (Foster's Prehistoric Races, etc., p. 132): "In 1859, according to Mr. William Pidgeon, it became necessary to remove a mound * * * in the suburbs of the city. It was about sixteen feet in height, with a diameter of sixty-six feet and a section of it exhibited five distinct strata. The first or lowest consisted of a bed of human bones arranged in a circle eighteen feet in diameter, closely pressed together. Around the outer edge of this circle the stratum was thinner than in the center. Skulls, tibia, ribs and vertebrae were promiscuously mingled as

though a pile of bodies had been heaped up. * * * Mr. Pidgeon was disposed to regard this as a 'battleground'."

In Ohio county J. B. Gerard, M. D., in connection with others, opened a mound near the mouth of Laughery creek which was about one hundred feet in diameter and fifteen feet high; excavations were made at several places, and they found human bones, one whole earthen pot and a great many fragments of pottery. "Dr. Gerard has noticed from twenty to thirty mounds along the bluffs of Laughery creek and has opened a number of them, but found nothing of note except ashes, which lay at the base of them all." (*Antiquities: Geological Survey of Indiana for 1878*, p. 122.)

The great work of the Mound Builders in Clark county is called the "Stone Fort." Mr. Cox says: "At the mouth of Fourteen Mile creek and about three miles from Charlestown, the county seat of Clark county, there is one of the most remarkable stone fortifications which has ever come under my notice. * * * The locality selected for this fort presents many natural advantages for making it impregnable to the opposing forces of pre-historic times. It occupies the point of an elevated narrow ridge which faces the Ohio river on the east and is bordered by Fourteen Mile creek on the west side. * * * Along the greater part of the Ohio river front there is an abrupt escarpment of rock entirely too steep to be scaled, and a similar natural barrier exists along a portion of the northwest side of the ridge facing the creek. * * * Although the locality afforded many natural advantages for a fort or stronghold, one is compelled to admit that much skill was displayed and labor expended in rendering its defense as perfect as possible at all points. Stone axes, pestles, arrowheads, spear points, totums, charms and flint flakes have been found in great abundance in plowing the field at the foot of the old fort." (*Geological Survey of Indiana for 1873*, p. 125.)

In Vanderburgh county there is an enclosure of considerable size described by Mr. A. H. Purdue. "In the southeast corner of Vanderburgh county is a collection of mounds and earthworks. They are locally known as the 'Angel Mounds.' The remains lie between two bayous, one on the south side and one on the north. When in perfect condition there was probably an enclosure,

formed by the bank of the bayou on the south and an irregularly curved wall, presumably a rampart, either end of which was terminated by the embankment. At the present (1896) there are about 1,400 yards of this wall remaining. At intervals, usually of thirty-seven to forty yards, there are semi-circular mounds with radii of from eight to ten feet joined to the outer side of the wall. On the supposition that the wall was a rampart, these semi-circular projections from it were probably lookouts. The most striking object is the large mound. Its longest diameter is 500 feet. The width varies from 175 to 225 feet. With reference to altitude, it is divided into three parts. The third part is a dome, the highest point of which is thirty-nine feet above the ground on which the mound rests. If the trees along the Ohio river were removed, the top of this dome would afford a commanding view for several miles up and down the river. There are six other mounds within the enclosure. These are circular at the base and have rounded tops, with the exception of one, which is a truncated cone 160 feet in diameter. It is used by the neighborhood for a burying ground. Pieces of pottery such as is now made by the western Indians are common within the enclosure." (A. H. Purdue: Some Mounds of Vanderburgh County, Proceedings of Indiana Academy of Science for 1896.)

"Going down the Ohio river to the mouth of the Wabash, there are a great number of mounds and earthworks of small magnitude. * * * Mounds are particularly numerous in the vicinity of New Harmony, Posey county, sixty miles above the mouth of the Wabash. The town itself occupies the site of an immense group of mounds." (Geological Survey of Indiana for 1878, p. 126.)

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DECEMBER, 1909—FEBRUARY, 1910.

*PREPARED BY MISS FLORENCE VENN,
Reference Librarian, Indiana State Library.*

Abbreviations: Ind., Indianapolis; mag. sec., magazine section; p., page; c., column.

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- Bundy, Martin L. Death of pioneer resident of Indiana. Ind. Star, Feb. 18, 1910, p. 9, c. 1. Ind. News, Feb. 17, 1910, p. 1, c. 2.
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- Harris, Lee O. Death of. Sketch of life. Ind. News, Dec. 24, 1909, p. 1, c. 2.
- Harrison, William Henry. Mansion at Vincennes may be removed to Harrison park. Ind. News, Dec. 9, 1909, p. 9, c. 2.
- May be presented to city of Vincennes. Ind. Star, Jan. 1, 1910, p. 3, c. 5.
- City council refuses to lease mansion. It may be razed. Ind. News, Feb. 15, 1910, p. 2, c. 4.
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- Indiana State normal school. President Parsons reviews history of. Terre Haute Star, Jan. 7, 1910, p. 7, c. 1.
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 - Growth of population since 1822. Ind. Star, Dec. 6, 1909, p. 6, c. 4.
 - List of postmasters since 1822. Ind. Star, Dec. 7, 1909, p. 6, c. 4.
 - List of mayors since 1847. Ind. Star, Dec. 8, 1909, p. 8, c. 4.
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 - History of Woodruff Place. Ind. Star, Dec. 20, 1909, p. 6, c. 4.
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- Lincoln, Abraham. Capt. Foster's impression of him at his visit to Indianapolis. Ind. Star, Feb. 8, 1910, p. 6, c. 6.
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- Postal service. Contrast between present methods of delivery and those of early days as recalled by John B. Wirt. Ind. Star, Jan. 9, 1910, p. 12, c. 1.
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- Section near Brookville used for water power. Terre Haute Star, Dec. 26, 1909, mag. sec., p. 4.
- Williams, James D. As recalled by Adlai Stevenson. Ind. News, Jan. 17, 1910, p. 5, c. 6.
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INDIANA QUARTERLY MAGAZINE OF HISTORY

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CHRISTOPHER B. COLEMAN, *Editor*

NOTES.

The North Central History Teachers' Association meets in Chicago at the University of Chicago buildings, Friday and Saturday, April 1 and 2. Among other items on the program is an informal dinner in honor of Professor Frederick J. Turner.

One of the most interesting sessions in the meeting of the Department of Superintendence of the National Education Association in Indianapolis was that of the afternoon of March 2, in which Professor J. H. Robinson read a paper upon "The Place of History in Industrial Schools." His main contention was that industrial development was the most appropriate basis of an outline of general history, and that a course of study thus modeled would be very valuable in industrial education. Superintendent Maxwell, of New York, in reviewing the paper, took exception to this thesis and maintained that industry is but one of the elements in man's progress and that industrial schools should teach general history rather than purely industrial history.

The annual meeting of the History Section of the State Teachers' Association will be held at Indianapolis in May. One or more sessions will be held jointly with the Indiana Historical Society.

REVIEWS OF BOOKS.

A HISTORY OF CLARK COUNTY.

[By L. C. Baird. Illustrated. B. F. Bowen & Co., Indianapolis.]

The author of a local history meets with one very serious difficulty. He is almost compelled to be laudatory, to overpraise citizens who are still living and whose enmity the writer feels that he dare not have. It is praiseworthy, however, that some men in Indiana are trying to preserve the early history of the

counties in which they live. Much material which the future historian must use is thrown away; a history, then, like L. C. Baird's, deserves commendation because of the author's serious effort to keep intact all the history of his locality. Clark county deserves and has received at the hands of Mr. Baird accurate treatment, especially in its early period. The author devotes his first chapter to the traditional earliest inhabitants of Clark county. He has two additional chapters on the history of the county before its organization and while it was a part of Virginia. Mr. Baird divides the history of the county into decades and then continues it in a series of chapters under heads like the following: The Military History of Clark County, in five chapters; Freemasonry in Clark County; The Roman Catholic Church in Clark County; Journalism in Clark County; The River and Steamboat Building; The Schools in Clark County; and quite a number of others.

The historical field here outlined is a large and important one, because Clark county was the first to be created out of the limits of Knox county, which was organized in 1790. Clark county was, therefore, the second one in the State. The editor's division into decades has some advantages, and makes easy reference to the periods of development in the southern part of the State, and, while the first fourteen chapters are merely annals, they are valuable, distinctly classified and therefore very easy for reference. We believe that Mr. Baird has done a very valuable work for the history of the State. There is a well-written and valuable account of the town of Springville, founded in 1799. This little town was a distinct American settlement and was the first capital of the county.

The list of families in the first decade provides an excellent foundation for the future genealogist of southern Indiana. The list includes the Bottorffs, McKinleys, Hawthorns, Carrs and others.

An interesting item is given about a teacher of an academy before the public schools were established: The old teacher (Zebulon B. Sturgus) was a strict disciplinarian. Tobacco-chewers and swearers were not allowed among his students. It is related that when the first locomotive passed over the Ohio &

Mississippi railroad, he whipped all the scholars for "imitating the engine."

The chapters on "Church History" and the "Secret and Benevolent Orders" are quite complete and satisfactory. They are much more so than the chapter on "Schools," which is quite defective because it is entirely too brief for a subject of such value to the county as that. The future historian will not be able to tell much of value about the schools from this history. They are of greater importance than the "Benevolent Orders," or "Journalism," or "River and Steamboat Building." The reviewer is compelled to call attention to some defects in this otherwise valuable history. There are attempts at fine writing which are not worthy of Mr. Baird. As for instance in the tenth chapter: "Beyond the river lay the Southland, whose legions surged to and from the border, while from the North came untold blue-clad thousands to preserve the Union established by our fathers," and in the nineteenth chapter, "placing the United States before humanity as the greatest benefactor ever known among nations." It is unfortunate also that Mr. Baird should write even one sentence like this: "He went into the tents and examined patients with his own hands, and elevated the abode of his satanic majesty, as only the old general could." There are other instances like this, all of which seriously mar the form.

In the "biographies" it would have been better to have arranged the families and individuals in alphabetical order. The author of this history was swept off his feet here by his inability to avoid praise for everybody mentioned. A simple, straightforward statement of facts would be much more scientific and creditable. It is very difficult to avoid praising your fellow townsmen, but the writing of history is a science and when it becomes merely praise it is faulty.

All the military history should be put together and not in separate chapters. The proofs were not carefully read. For instance, "liquor" is spelled without the l, "companies" is written "cam," "indefinitely" is written with two f's, and "had laid" and "laying" instead of "lain" and "lying."

The volume is fairly well illustrated.

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VOL. VI

JUNE, 1910

No. 2

THE UNDERGROUND RAILROAD IN INDIANA.

BY JULIA S. CONKLIN.

[An article by Dr. O. N. Huff, of Fountain City, dealing in part with the Underground Railroad in eastern Indiana, appeared in this magazine in September, 1907 (Vol. III, pp. 133-143) under the title, "Unnamed Anti-Slavery Heroes of Old Newport."]

THE mystery connected with the Underground Railroad, the secrecy with which its business was conducted, the results of which were so far-reaching and so novel, have ever lent a charm to the history of this wonderful system which had its beginning in the Southland and ended at the boundaries of the Queen's domain; while the remarkable character of its dusky passengers, the story of their escape from bondage to freedom over this mysterious route, has added a touch of romance which strongly appeals to the imagination.

It has been impossible to trace to a definite beginning this unparalleled system—this unexplainable, mysterious corporation, organized without officers and without authority, in direct violation of the laws of both the Northern and the Southern States; but we know that it grew and flourished in defiance of all restraining authority; that it spread over the North, rapidly gaining in power until it became a strong factor in the liberation of slaves, and only ended when the stroke of a mighty pen proclaimed the freedom of all the bondsmen within the limits of the United States.

It has been maintained by those actively engaged in the cause that the Underground Railroad had its origin in the slave States, and that a portion of the system lay south of the Mason and Dixon line. However that may be, it is certain that in the South there were those who sometimes assisted the fugitives to cross

the line, hiding them in wagons, stowing them away in secret places on steamboats, or conducting them through the country at night, to the Ohio river. Once across the river the fugitives found friends who were willing to aid them on their way to Canada,—that “City of Refuge” toward which these dusky forms stole their way through southern swamps, over mountains and through valleys, in the dark hours of the night, guided by the far-off glimmer of the north star, that headlight of the wonderful engine of the Underground Railroad.

The danger to the life and property of those who aided in the escape of slaves was very great, both in the North and the South. In some of the Southern States the penalty for stealing a negro was death; while a heavy fine was inflicted for feeding or harboring a runaway slave. In the North the penalty for aiding in their escape was severe. The law imposed both fine and imprisonment on the offender, and sometimes exacted the payment of the full value of the slave assisted to escape.

Many of those engaged in the work of the Underground Railroad were men and women of irreproachable moral and Christian character, and, although they were acting in direct violation of the laws of the country, they were actuated by a sincere conviction that they were obeying God’s command to “feed the hungry and clothe the naked,” for the operations of those in the North seldom led them south of the Ohio river; their policy being to assist the fugitive after he had made his escape and not to persuade him to run away. In this they felt no condemnation of conscience. They were convinced that they were performing a heaven-appointed duty. They recognized a higher law than that made by man, and when the dictates of humanity conflicted with the laws of the country, they ignored the law, and saw the hand of Providence in each success. They were appalled by no danger, although at all times they exercised the greatest precaution, both for their own and the sake of the helpless fugitives.

In Indiana the sympathy of a large majority of the people was not with the operators of the Underground Railroad. In fact, the sentiment of a large portion of the settlers was strongly against them. Even among those who disapproved of the slave system were many who opposed the methods used by those en-

gaged in the work of the Underground Railroad, and looked upon them as no better than thieves; for, they maintained, it was worse to steal a negro than to steal a horse, for the reason that a negro was worth more than a horse.

The subject of the gradual emancipation of the slaves was agitated by many who held anti-slavery principles, and manumission societies were formed both in the North and the South—the first of the latter being at New Garden, North Carolina, which some liberal-minded slave-owners joined and advocated plans for gradual manumission. Meantime the Underground Railroad continued to spread over a large portion of the States north of the Ohio river, a number of branches passing through Indiana, and Westfield became an important station. In time, stations were established all along these routes, at distances of from ten to twenty miles apart, and a perfect understanding was maintained between those who were engaged in the work. In the *Reminiscences of Levi Coffin* the author says: "The roads were always in running order, the connections good, the conductors active and zealous, and there was no lack of passengers. Seldom a week passed without our having received passengers over this mysterious road."

The business of the road was attended with heavy expense, which increased with the constantly increasing number of passengers. Ofttimes the fugitives reached the North almost destitute of clothing, and sick from want and exposure; for these food and clothing must be provided, and they must be nursed back to health and the means for transportation secured before they could be forwarded on their way. The journeys were almost always made at night, often over almost impassable roads, along byways that were seldom traveled; every precaution to evade pursuit had to be used, for often hunters were on the track, sometimes ahead of them. Everything was done in the most secret manner, the whereabouts of the fugitives being known to as few persons as possible. Often slaves were concealed for days about the premises of a home unknown to neighbors and visitors, or even to a portion of the family.

There were a few careful managers among the colored people, but only a few; the majority could not be trusted; they lacked

shrewdness and caution and could sometimes be bribed to act as spies, or to betray the hiding places of the fugitives. It is remarkable how the movements of the slave-hunters became known to the managers of the Underground Railroad, in those days when telegraphic communication was an impossibility; and it is remarkable how the names of those actively engaged in the work and the names and location of anti-slavery strongholds became known, not only to the slave-owners, but to the ignorant slaves in the cotton fields of the South. There seems to have been an Underground Telegraph system as well as an Underground Railroad. Thus it was that Westfield came to be regarded in quite a different light from the standpoint of the fugitive slave who hoped to find friends here who would help him on to freedom, and from that of the slave-holder, who regarded it as an abolition hotbed where he could receive no justice; for it was said by slave-hunters that when a runaway "nigger" got to Westfield it was not worth while to look for him.

It is impossible to ascertain the number of slaves who, by means of the Underground Railroad, made their escape from bondage. Levi Coffin said that in 1844 it was estimated that the number then in Canada was about forty thousand. That was more than fifteen years before the beginning of the Civil War, and the number constantly increased until that period. Besides this, many of the fugitives found friends and protection this side of the line, and never crossed into Canada. How many perished in the attempt to gain their freedom none can tell. How many were recaptured and carried back to end their days in slavery will never be known.

A number of interesting incidents in connection with the Underground Railroad occurred at Westfield. It is impossible to give the names of all those who were actively engaged in the cause of the fugitive slave, for time has dimmed the memory of those who remain to tell the story. It will be remembered that in the beginning the movement was very unpopular, both within and without the Friends' church, the members of which composed a large portion of the community in and about Westfield, and the pioneers in the anti-slavery movement were almost ostracised from the society of their neighbors and some of them were "dis-

owned" by their "meeting." To be an Abolitionist required great strength of character and a strong sense of moral obligation. To be an operator in the Underground Railroad required not only this but physical courage as well. The odium attached to the calling was very undesirable; those engaged in it often being classed with thieves and robbers. Yet, in the face of all scandal and disgrace, a few courageous men and women quietly continued the work, and endured the slights and insults of former friends and neighbors until the community experienced a revolution of sentiment. Then abolitionism became popular in this section of the country. The Society of Friends opened its doors to take back, without acknowledgment, all those who had been disowned on account of their anti-slavery proclivities, and many of those who had most bitterly opposed the Underground Railroad took up the work themselves and continued it until their services were no longer needed.

Among the pioneers in the movement should be mentioned Asa Beals, one of the founders of the village; Judah Roberts, Louis Roberts, Simon Moon, another founder of Westfield, and his sons, William and Riley; Curts Hiatt, Nathan Hiatt, Aaron and Elizabeth Lindley, Jonathan Hammer, Joel Denny, Dr. Jacob Pfaff, William Walgerman, William Frost, Border Jackson, Daniel Lighter, Samuel Johns, Milton Stanley and Ephraim Stout. Later came the White brothers, Mordacai, Lilburn and Mikajah; Elijah Talbert, Peter Rich, Levi Pennington, the Baldwin brothers, David and Isaac, and many others. North of Westfield, in the vicinity of Deming, the active workers in the Underground Railroad were Elihu Picket, Jesse, Joseph and Anna Baker, Martin Anthony, Owen Williams, John White, Daniel Hasket, Uriah Hodson, Joseph Hadley and a number of others. In the operation of the Underground Railroad the women were as active as the men and their work was just as effective. Perhaps they did not personally conduct the fugitives through the forests and swamps, but they opened the doors of their homes and took them in, sick as many of them were, ragged and dirty as they all must have been, coming in direct contact with them, and performing all sorts of disagreeable service. They cooked food for the fugitives, and spun and wove the cloth which they made into

clothing for them. The sick they put into their own dainty beds and nursed them back to health, and if the words of our Savior, "Whatsoever ye do unto the least of these, ye do it unto Me," have any meaning, surely they have entered into their reward.

Louis and Judah Roberts were born in Highland county, Ohio. When young men they were employed to work for a cousin who lived at some point on the Ohio river. There they became interested in the operations of the Underground in which their cousin was engaged. In 1834 they moved to Indiana and settled near Westfield. Soon afterward some fugitives were shipped from their old neighborhood on the Ohio river to their home in Hamilton county, and thus a branch of the Underground Railroad was established through Westfield. In the beginning the nearest station north of Westfield was New London, in Howard county, a distance of fifty or sixty miles in these days of gravel roads and excellent facilities for travel, but much farther in those times when the blazed pathway lay through the dense forest and almost impassable swamps. The use of any sort of vehicle was not to be thought of, the only means of travel being on horseback or on foot.

Fugitive slaves were shipped to Westfield from many points. They came from Lafayette, Darlington and Thorntown; from Mooresville, and various points in Henry county, and from Indianapolis. Sometimes they came singly; sometimes a number were together. One night two or three parties, numbering in all twenty negroes, arrived at the home of Judah Roberts, near Westfield. They were all fed and properly cared for and safely forwarded on their journey.

On the spot now occupied by the residence of Anderson Perry once stood a barn belonging to Asa Beals. It differed from the ordinary barns of that period in that it was larger, was built of frame, and had a cellar beneath it; the latter, however, was not generally known. Into this cavity many a dusky form was secreted in the darkness, food and drink given through the opening above, the trap-door securely fastened, a bit of hay or straw scattered carelessly over it; and here the fugitive remained until the time and opportunity came for smuggling him away.

A slave named **George** Hoard escaped captivity with his wife

and children and was traced by his master to Westfield. Here he engaged Nathan Hunt to assist him in the search for the family, which had scattered through the woods. Nathan was a staunch Quaker, and, unknown to the slave-hunter, was a firm friend to the runaway negroes; but he went with him in the hope of being able to lead him off the track. By and by they spied a little woolly head and a pair of frightened eyes hid in a pile of brush. The master roughly pulled the child out and gathering it in his arms, remarked, "Here is three hundred dollars saved." Nathan could stand it no longer. He forgot all about his advocacies of peaceful arbitration, and, with a decidedly combative instinct and much physical force, he drew the stout stick which he carried in his hand, and, perhaps with less calmness of voice than is usually employed in connection with the use of the "plain language," he said: "Thee put that child down; it is none of thine." How much moral persuasion was conveyed by the stick and the force with which it was wielded I do not know, but the child was liberated. The case came to trial and money was collected to recompense the slave-owner for the loss of his property.

A tavern was kept by Mrs. Luvica White where now stands an old shop across the alley from the residence of postmaster Charles Smith. One night a fugitive slave woman was brought here and placed in an upper room. Scarcely was this done when two strange men came and applied for lodging, which was given them. It soon became apparent that they were slave-hunters and were on the track of the woman upstairs, having traced her to Westfield. To leave her in the room would lead to almost certain discovery; but there was no way of getting her out of the house except to pass through the room in which the men were sitting. However, Mrs. White was equal to the emergency. She dressed the negro woman in her own clothes, with bonnet and veil, prepared herself for the street, and the two quietly left the house together without exciting the suspicion of the master. Mrs. White took the woman to the house of her son, Mikajah White, where now Nathan H. Clark lives. There she was secreted until the danger was past. This was about the year 1850.

Louis Talbert escaped from Kentucky and through the influence of friends became a student in the Union Literary Institute,

in Randolph county. He made two unsuccessful attempts to rescue his sisters from slavery, each time bringing with him a number of runaway slaves. Determined to make another attempt to bring his sisters out of bondage, he confided his plans to a fellow student, a young man from Westfield, who, becoming interested in his story, offered to accompany him on his perilous mission. A few months later Louis presented himself in Westfield and reminded his friend of his promise. He was taken to the house of Levi Pennington, who tried to dissuade him from his purpose; but Louis was determined and confided his plans to Nathan Willits, who agreed to go with him. Nathan, however, unwisely told a friend of their intentions; this friend told another person, who knew Louis's master in Kentucky, and wrote to him, disclosing the plot. The result was that when Louis reached Indianapolis he was confronted by his master and carried back to slavery. A short time afterward he again made his escape, again bringing a number of slaves with him. It was estimated that Louis carried off \$37,000 worth of slave property.

Perhaps the most exciting event connected with the Underground Railroad in this vicinity was the attempt to capture and carry back to slavery a family named Roads. One dark night in the year 1837 John Roads and his wife, Rhuann Maria, and their child, arrived at the home of Joseph Baker, near Deming. They were brought thither in a closely covered wagon driven by a conductor of the Underground Railroad and placed in hiding for a few days, when it was expected to forward them to Canada. John and Rhuann were the property of Mr. Singleton Vaughn, who lived in Missouri, where the slaves were born. John and Rhuann were married, and after the birth of their child Mr. Vaughn removed with them to Illinois, where they remained in his service for some months. After awhile it began to be said that, having been kept in a free State by their master for more than six months, they were, according to the law, entitled to their freedom. These rumors reaching the ears of Mr. Vaughn, he discreetly moved them back to Missouri. John in the meantime had heard of the Underground Railroad and of the friendship of the Abolitionists for the slaves, and he cherished the hope that by

the help of these good friends he might some time escape to the land of freedom.

One day a strange man came to see their master, and, by listening to their conversation, they learned that Rhuann was to be sold to a Southern planter and taken away. They at once concluded to make an effort to secure the coveted freedom. With a few simple tools and a small bundle of clothing, they stole from their cabin one dark night and started for Canada. After long days of hiding and weary nights of travel they reached the Mississippi river. Making a flimsy raft of logs, bound together with grapevines, they succeeded in crossing. Before they reached the shore, however, the child became frightened and cried so loud that, fearing it would lead to their discovery, John, driven to desperation, threatened to stop its crying by throwing it overboard; but the mother plead for the child's life, and they reached the shore without putting the terrible threat into execution. Their pursuers were close upon them, however, and they were captured and taken to jail to await trial. Through the efforts of the Abolitionists in Illinois they escaped one night, and were spirited away on an Underground Railroad car, across the prairies of Illinois, and their pursuers lost all trace of them. Believing they would be safe, some of their friends persuaded them to remain in the vicinity of Deming, Indiana. John was given employment, and after awhile was able to purchase a bit of ground, upon which he built a cabin; but he never lost the fear of being recaptured. No windows were made in his cabin, and the strong oak door was always securely barred at night and an ax stood beside his bed while he slept.

For several years they enjoyed their new-found freedom; other children were born to them and John was kept busy supplying the needs of his family. Unfortunately, a man from Strawtown, Indiana, removed to Missouri and settled near John's old master, and in an evil hour Mr. Vaughn learned the whereabouts of his slaves. He employed this man to assist him, and, armed with the necessary proofs, he started to Indiana to recover his property. Arriving at Strawtown, he procured a warrant for the arrest of the negroes, and with a posse of rough men, proceeded at night to the Roads cabin.

John was awakened and told that he must surrender himself and family and return with his master to Missouri. This he refused to do, and with his ax in hand stood at the door, threatening to kill the first man who crossed the threshold. Fearing the desperate man, who was ready to defend his liberty with his life, the men turned to the chimney, hoping to effect an entrance through the fireplace; but Rhuann, equally desperate, kept up such a fire with the broken pieces of furniture, burning her beds when all other fuel was exhausted, that they were defeated in the attempt, and the master received such a blow from a hardened piece of clay in the hands of Rhuann, after they had demolished the chimney, that they were glad to abandon the plan.

Bravely the negroes held their position until day began to dawn, calling loudly for help the while. Owen Williams and Jesse Baker, hearing their cries, started to the rescue, but were met by the armed men and turned back. The alarm spread rapidly; runners were sent to Westfield and to Deming to carry the news and to notify the people along the line.

Joseph Baker was the next to arrive upon the scene; he refused to be halted by the besiegers and was admitted into the cabin by John. Soon other neighbors began to arrive and Mr. Vaughn was questioned as to his intentions; he replied that it was his intention to take the negroes before the proper officers for identification, after which he intended to take them South. A consultation was held which led to the proposition that if Mr. Vaughn would consent to go to Westfield for trial the friends of John would advise him to surrender. This was agreed upon and the entire party, slaves, officers and master, were taken to the home of Martin Anthony, where breakfast was served.

By this time the whole country was aroused and people began to gather for miles around. Those who had horses came on horseback; those who had not came on foot. After some delay a team was procured and John and his family placed in the wagon, guarded by the slave-owner and his armed men, and escorted by the friends of the negroes to the number of one hundred and fifty or two hundred.

Arriving at a point where the road divided, one branch leading

to Noblesville, the other to Westfield, Mr. Vaughn and his men placed themselves in front of the team and demanded that the slaves be driven to Noblesville; at the same time armed men seized the horses by the bridles and attempted to turn them in that direction. This caused great excitement, the friends of the negroes insisting that they should be taken to Westfield for trial. Amid the confusion Daniel F. Jones, a young man from Westfield, sprang into the wagon, seized the reins, which the driver gladly relinquished, and warning the men to get out of the road; that they might shoot if they dared, but that he should take that team to Westfield, he gave the horses a cut with the whip which caused them to spring suddenly forward; the tongue of the wagon struck the horse of one of the officers in front, hurling him out of the road and disarming him. Deftly turning the horses into the road leading to Westfield; Mr. Jones started on as brisk a trot as the condition of the roads would permit. So swiftly did he drive that the entire cargo was spilled; or, as some one has expressed it, "the bottom dropped out of the wagon" and the negroes were lost in "Dismal Swamp," through which they passed. Here they took passage on the Underground Railroad and Mr. Jones drove the horses and empty wagon to Westfield.

Mr. Vaughn and his party proceeded to Noblesville, where he began suit against those who had assisted in the escape of the slaves. A long, protracted trial followed, which was carried to Marion county, and resulted in the finding that John and his wife, having been worked by their master in Illinois, a free State, for more than six months, they were entitled to their freedom. It cost the defendants \$600 in attorney's fees, besides much loss of time. John again entered upon the life of a free man and lived in the community until his death.

Mr. Isaac Roberts, of Westfield, has in his possession an interesting old relic of the Underground Railroad, of which the following story is told: Fifty years ago two runaway slaves, a man and a woman, were brought to the home of his father, Judah Roberts, where it was thought best to detain them for awhile. They had been two years in traveling the distance from their plantation home to Westfield, hiding much of the time in south-

ern swamps and forests. The man carried with him a scabbard in which was a dagger about two feet long, with which to defend himself should he be overtaken, and to protect himself against bloodhounds. The weapon, which is of fine workmanship, was probably stolen from some gentleman, and may have played an important part in the exercise of southern chivalry.

One day Mr. Roberts came to Westfield and found the citizens somewhat excited over the arrival of some strange men who were supposed to be slave-hunters. Hastening home, he warned the fugitives of their danger and prepared to send them to a safer refuge. The slaves were greatly alarmed, and in their eagerness to start forgot all about the dagger, which has remained in the Roberts family ever since.

SETTLEMENT OF NOBLESVILLE, HAMILTON COUNTY.

BY J. G. FINCH.

[The following narrative in typewritten form was given to the State Library of Indiana by W. W. Woollen, of Indianapolis. It is the recollection by J. G. Finch in 1893 of the settlement in which he took part as a boy of nine or ten years. Parts of the manuscript are omitted below. The narrative is interesting not only as describing the settlement of an important part of the State, but as showing conditions of travel and settlement everywhere.—EDITOR.]

IN THE spring of 1819 a company was formed in Connersville, Fayette county, for the purpose of making a settlement on the horseshoe prairie, which lies just below Noblesville; a large scope of territory had been purchased of the Indians the winter before and they were anxious to have the first choice of land. That company was composed of the following persons: Solomon Finch and family, Israel Finch, William Bush and two sons, and James Willison. Israel Finch, Bush and Willison were going to put in a crop and return for their families some time during the summer. Besides these there were Aaron Finch and Amasa Chapman, son and stepson of John Finch, who, himself, expected to follow towards fall. There were three wagons in the company, Solomon Finch's family in one, Bush in another, and Willison in another. They left Connersville on the first day of April, as near as I can recollect. I was between nine and ten years old at the time and can only recollect such things as would come under the notice of a child of that age.

The first incident of the journey I recollect was that they had me on an old gray horse they had with them. It was snowing hard and they making their way along very slowly with their ox-team, driving some stock and cutting the road as they went. I got to crying and they came to see what was the matter. I told them I was so cold that my back was cracked. They found I was in pretty bad condition, so chilled that I could hardly sit on the horse. Israel Finch carried a kettle of coals so that they would not be detained so long by having to make a fire by the slow process of flint and steel. They took me and the fire and

went on ahead to where was an old Indian camp called Sage Green's camp, where they expected to stay all night, and by the time the team came up he had me pretty well warmed up.

The next event of any note was when we reached Blue river, where Newcastle now is. That stream was very high and no chance to cross it except by bridging it, so they pitched their tents and prepared for the work. That night it rained so hard that everything in the wagons and tents were thoroughly wet through and through. As soon as they could they went to work at the bridge. The river there seemed to be a mere ditch, winding along between the tall trees in the bottom, and it was but little trouble for them to find trees long enough to reach across the stream, so they felled two of them and got the trunks together, cut other trees and made puncheons of them by splitting them as thin as they could and covered the logs already prepared for them so that the wagons passed over them in safety. George Shirts and Charles Lacey had preceded this company a few days on pack horses, following the same Indian trail we were on. Lacey was going on to put in a crop and return for his family. Shirts had his family and was going to work for Bill Conner, who was then an Indian trader and living with an Indian wife about two miles below where we were going to settle. We would frequently see where they had camped for the night.*

Our trail led us past Andersontown, now Anderson, which was then nothing but an Indian town. We reached the river [White river] just at the mouth of Stony creek. The river was very high and locked [backed] Stony creek up so that it looked more like a lake than a creek. Whilst we were waiting for the men to get a canoe four or five little Indians came to us with bows and arrows. They stood around for some time looking at us in perfect silence; then each one shot an arrow at a beech tree some distance off and they disappeared in the forest.

As soon as they got everything across the river they started up where the dam used to be and then crossed the prairie to the ridge where the old mill-race turns south. There they unloaded and pitched their tents and went to work with a will. Bush lo-

*The trail this party followed from Connersville via Newcastle and Anderson was practically the railroad route of to-day.—*Editor*.

cated a little south of the Finches and Willison was to have settled still south of him along the ridge, but he changed his mind before his family came and built on the bluff at the mouth of Stony creek. Some went to cutting logs for the cabin, some to hauling and others to making clapboards to cover the house with. They had all their effects in the tent, dishes piled on the table, and one day the wind was blowing, a limb fell from a tree on the dishes and broke nearly all they had. Lacey one day shot a fine deer, of which they all got a part. As soon as the cabin was fit to shelter them they all went to work to put in a crop of corn. Indians visited us almost daily, and with one of the parties that called on us was a fine young darkey, always with the same family. In the spring of 1820 this darkey went to work for Conner and that fall a Kentuckian was through looking at the country, saw the darkey. went home, got a posse of men and came and took him, claiming he was his slave, but the negro went off declaring he had never been a slave.

All the playmates I had from April until July were little Indians. My favorite was one with a red head. I used to go with him hunting with bow and arrows for ground squirrels and birds or to the river for fish. One day he commenced singing some Indian song which scared me, so I started for home. That still sounds in my ears; it was, "Yoh an awa gow haw." That was just repeated over and over. I was so scared that I struck across the prairie for home, though he begged me to go on. I thought my time had come and that was my scalp song.

About the first of July Israel Finch, Bush and Willison went back for their families and soon after they got there we began to get sick. Uncle John came in some time in August and we had to give up that cabin to him, as he had furnished most of the labor, and my father built a little cabin about 100 or 150 yards southwest. In September sickness set in in earnest; nearly every one would be down at the same time, not one to help another when the ague was on. Our provisions gave out and sixty or seventy miles to the settlement. Conner had a little corn, which he sold them at a dollar a bushel. This they had to pound in a mortar, sift out the finest of it for bread and boil the coarser of it and eat it with milk. They called it samp. O, how tired I

got of such fare! but no help for it. They would pound the corn after the ague went off and the fever subsided a little.

In the fore part of October Amasa Chapman died and also George Finch. Some time during the summer George Shirts' wife died. She was buried down on the Conner farm.

As soon as the corn was hard enough to grate they made a grater of tin, something after the fashion of a nutmeg grater. It made much better meal than when pounded. Some time during the fall or winter Bush made a little hand mill, the burrs as large as a good-sized grindstone. He drilled a hole near the edge of the top burr, drove a peg in it by which it could be turned after the fashion of a millstone. During the winter they built a horse mill. People began to settle in the spring of 1820 where Indianapolis now is, and they came up there to do their grinding on the horse mill. A part of the Indians came and camped on Cicero creek about two hundred yards from the mouth. They had some whisky, got drunk, used their knives freely on each other. I don't recollect the number of deaths, but one of them lay all winter so bad they were expecting him to die.

The nettles grew very plentiful in Cicero bottoms, and during the winter it was found they had as good a lint as flax or hemp, and in the spring they were in good condition for working up. We all had shirts, pants, towels, sheets and under bed ticks made of these nettles. They seemed to be something to us about like the manna was to the children of Israel. One little fellow was going to gather nettles enough to make him a pair of leather pants.

Baxter came in the spring of 1820 or the fall of 1819. In the spring of 1820 the settlers thought the bald eagles, of which there were a great many along the river, were catching their lambs. They shot some of the eagles, but I have always thought the lambs were caught by wildcats. This spring [1820] a man named Jacob Andrick came to the prairie and bought Bush's improvements and Bush moved down by Conner's. Andrick had no family [children], but his brother-in-law, Judah, was with him. Andrick built a new and much better house than Bush had; the logs were hewn and two rooms to it, with a porch between. Some time during the summer Mrs. Andrick died and later on her

brother Judah died. Then we moved into the Andrick house. Andrick had expected to buy the prairie land and had agreed to pay the settlers for their improvements, but Conner outbid him at the sales and never paid them a cent for their improvements, claiming that the improvements he was going to make in the country would more than pay them. He was going to put up a saw mill, a grist mill, a carding machine and a distillery, which he did in the summer of 1823.

In the summer of 1820 Sarah Finch taught a school there in the little cabin where Israel Finch had lived. I think there were but seven scholars—Rebecca Finch, F. M. Finch, Angeline Finch, Marcella Finch, William Finch, Almine Finch and J. G. Finch. A few days before the Fourth of July Curtis Mallery came to the prairie. I think he came from Massachusetts or Vermont. The settlers thought they must have a Fourth of July celebration this year, and about the time Mallery came they were making preparations. They drove forks in the ground, laid poles on them and then covered it with brush with the leaves on. Under this shade they ate their dinners and drank their toasts with great glee and hilarity. At night they had a dance. There was no such thing as a fiddle in fifty miles of them, so they had to depend entirely on vocal music.

About the first of September sickness set in again, but it was not so bad on those that were there the year before. Mallery's family were all down and two of them died. In November my little brother Augustus got so badly scalded by upsetting a kettle of boiling water on himself that he died in about twelve hours. Thaddeus Owens died this fall, I think.

In the spring of 1821 my father moved down to Conner's to help Shirts raise a crop of corn for him. That spring a keel-boat came up from Indianapolis and took off the corn the darkey had raised for Conner the year before. A great many Indians left that year and went down the river in canoes. Amongst the number was one of John Conner's children. John had also been a trader and had a squaw for a wife, but had kept the lad with him when he settled at Connersville. But when the Indians were

leaving he sent him, now a young man, to his brother's to be ready to leave with the other Indians.*

The land came into market and Conner, having bought the settlers' improvements, came on to carry out his plans for his improvements. [It was quite a common thing for settlers to locate before land was officially surveyed and thrown open to entry and purchase by settlers. The universal custom prevailed that the "squatters" should either be allowed to enter their land themselves or be paid for their improvements by those who did enter it.—Editor.] My father and George Shirts took the contract for digging the mill-race, broke up and got nothing for their work except what they took up for hired help and other expenses. Conner finished it himself. Between the river and the ridge where the race turns south they found a bed of broken crockery ware. It had apparently been dried in the sun as the Mexicans dry their idols.

After the sale of the lands Uncle John settled upon Little Stony creek. Bush bought the land where the carbon works now [1893] are and sold it to Ridgeway. Willison bought all the land south of Bush to the mouth of Stony creek, sold it to Potter, and Potter to Frybarger. Mr. Baxter bought up joining Conner's land, including a small piece of the prairie, and built another cabin on the ridge northwest of where the first cabin was built. Lacy bought up the land on the west side of the river down by Conner's. Solomon Finch settled about a mile southeast of the Sohl farm, which Judge John Finch bought of Congress. He gave Israel Finch some land adjoining his. Aaron settled on Stony creek down toward Hall's mill. There was a school taught in 1823 just across that little branch north of the Indian graveyard.

I believe this ends the story of the settlement. I am sorry I could not put it in better shape, but I am no writer.

*The Indians left the various tracts of land purchased from them by the United States government, moving to tracts not yet sold.—*Editor*.

BROOKVILLE'S ROUNDED CENTURY—JUNE, 1908.

BY HUBERT M. SKINNER.

[A short sketch of "The Beginning of Brookville," by Amos W. Butler, was published in this magazine, December, 1905 (Vol. I, p. 209). In the same number there is an article, "Recollections of Early Brookville," by John M. Johnson (p. 195), an article on "The Whitewater Valley" (pp. 204-208), and on "The Richmond and Brookville Canal" (pp. 189-194).]

FAMOUS old Brookville, in the forks of the Whitewater river, in Indiana, is now celebrating its centennial. It will not be many years until a number of other old towns in the Hoosier State will be entitled to the same privilege; but as for Brookville, it has been slumbering for some years upon its rights, it would seem. One hundred and four years ago, we are told, Michael Pilky and Charles Zelier, who seem to have been Frenchmen, had been residing for some time upon the banks of the East Fork, somewhere near the confluence of the two streams; and Amos Butler, a young and enterprising Pennsylvanian, was on the spot, planning the erection of a mill and selecting sites for homes for his family and friends. A year later, in 1805, Butler's mill arose, and the company of immigrants who came with the proprietor on packhorses formed a considerable village.

It was in 1808, however, that the town was regularly surveyed, a blockhouse was built for its protection, and the settlement received the name of Brooksville—which name was subsequently modified by the dropping of the sibilant letter. A tavern was erected for the entertainment of sojourners, and various shops were opened for a variety of industries.

The age of Brookville, however, is by no means its chief distinction. Nor can it boast of having ever had a large population. Probably its inhabitants have never numbered more than its three thousand souls of to-day. Brookville's fame rests upon the astonishing number of distinguished men who have gone forth from the town, through the successive decades, to win laurels in various fields of endeavor. When visitors to the town have seen there the former residences of six famous Governors, they have uttered expressions of surprise. But, really, this showing is a

matter of little moment to the genuine Brookviller, for there are so many others—so many, when you come to think of them all—who are no less worthy of remembrance.

Without any great names to its credit, Brookville would still be famous for the singularity and beauty bestowed upon it by the hand of nature. On either side the clear rivers flow, and at the south end of the town they unite in a broad stream. Round about are piled high hills, which display an ever-present panorama of the changing seasons, as if painted on the sky. To the north is Butler's Hill, and between the ridges Butler's run hurries down "to join the brimming river."

In 1810 the village had become so populous and so secure that the blockhouse was not deemed necessary for defense, and it was enlarged and turned into a store and a hotel, becoming noted far and wide as the "Yellow Tavern." But in the War of 1812 the town was kept in a constant state of alarm, for it was threatened by hostile Indians. Saylor's Fort was erected about three miles below, to which the people might retreat if the worst should come to the worst. Meanwhile, it was a common thing for the houses to be provided with loopholes for use in sudden emergencies.

A reminder of that period is the Little Cedar Grove Church, which the Baptists dedicated in 1812, three miles to the southeast of the town, on the Harrison pike, and which, though now unused, looks much as it did in generations gone. It is built of hard bricks, of large size. It has a commodious gallery, supported by massive hewn pillars; and in the center of the church is a stone hearth, upon which charcoal was burned in cold weather—for stoves were not common in the West in that early day.

It is a legend of Brookville that the building of this church was a result of the "warning" given by the great earthquake of the previous year, 1811, which was felt very generally throughout the Mississippi valley, and which the preachers of that day utilized to great advantage in terrifying sinners. The first complete minutes of the "Little Cedar Grove Church Book" date from October 5, 1806; and the record, which is still preserved, comes down unbroken to April 3, 1830. In 1820 was built the old brick

church which stands in the cemetery near the old Brookville College, which is now the public school building of the town.

Immediately following the admission of the State, Brookville achieved high rank among the manufacturing centers of the new West. Grist mills, a sawmill, a fulling mill, a tannery, a rope-walk, a carding mill, a hat factory, a pottery factory, and shops of tailors, blacksmiths, carpenters, shoemakers, saddlers and harnessmakers, weavers and wagonmakers were humming with industry. There were numerous stores, and a bank of wide circulation. The Whitewater was navigated in favorable seasons by boats of light draft, and cargoes of products were shipped direct to New Orleans.

In 1833 the cotton factory of Brookville turned 1,600 spindles and a dozen power looms. The lumber, flour, wagons, plows and other agricultural implements, rope, cotton and woolen cloths, paper, leather, hats, etc., manufactured in the town were widely famed and brought to the place a lively trade. The inhabitants began to build fine, large mansions. Stone pavements were laid. Cool, clear water was brought down from Butler's run and distributed through the town in wooden pipes.

The once famous canal, with its costly locks and viaducts, was opened on the 8th of June, 1839, when the "Ben Franklin" came from Cincinnati with its first boatload of passengers. The canal did service as a freight line until the close of the Civil War, after which its towpath was used for the construction of the present railway line.

But it was of the famous men of Brookville that I started to write. Let us, in imagination, visit the town in, say, the year 1820. Here is the land office, in charge of Robert Hanna, the childhood companion and lifelong friend of Thomas Jefferson, now in retirement at Monticello. Here is a store kept by Samson Powers, who lives with his widowed mother. Her other son is a clerk in Cincinnati, Hiram Powers, who is to become a famous sculptor. Here is the Eads store. William H. Eads is the proprietor. He is a member of the State Senate. His brother Tom is with him. Tom's son is the James B. Eads who is to build the great St. Louis bridge over the Mississippi, and to construct the greatest system of jetties that the world has ever

seen. There is another boy, about six years old. They call him "Abe." This is Abram S. Hammond, destined to be Governor of Indiana in the critical period immediately preceding the great war.

We shall find here a tavern kept by Andrew Wallace. Two of his sons, David and Thomas, are not at home. The former is at West Point, where he is to be graduated later with honor. He will yet be Lieutenant-Governor, then Governor, of his State. Later, as a member of Congress, he will secure, against fierce opposition, the appropriation of money by Congress to test the experiment of Morse—the magnetic telegraph—and thus give the world the great boon of that wonderful invention. Thomas Wallace, the other son, now at Annapolis, is to win laurels in the navy.

There is another boy also, young Oliver H. Glisson, who is to achieve celebrity as rear admiral of the United States navy.

Here is the blacksmith shop of the unkempt and careless Herndon, whose son, W. L. Herndon, is to be one of the world's heroes. Young Herndon will perform valiant service in the Mexican War, and will manage the great, proud Naval Academy, and, as a naval officer, will explore the Amazon region. Later, as commander of that ill-starred vessel, the "Central America," with its five hundred passengers, and its two million dollars in gold, he will sail from old "Aspinwall" (now the city of Colon, in the Canal Zone), on the 3d of September, 1857. In the awful ocean storm of the 12th he will refuse to desert his ship, but will put all the passengers and crew into the lifeboats, and, standing on the wheelhouse, glass in hand, a heroic figure marked against the sky, will take the awful plunge with the ship which he has commanded. A daughter of Herndon became the wife of President Chester A. Arthur.

On the hill is the house of James Noble, a forceful member of the United States Senate. Noah Noble, now sheriff of the county, is to be Governor of Indiana for two terms. Near him lives James B. Ray, who is to be Governor of the State for seven years—to serve as acting Governor, and to be twice elected for three-year terms. A noteworthy residence is the home of John Test, who has resided here since 1812, and who is to become a

noted Congressman. Jesse L. Thomas, a former resident of Brookville, now represents the State of Illinois in the United States Senate, where, in this very year—1820—he is to originate and carry through to enactment the Missouri Compromise restriction of slavery, so long mistakenly attributed to Henry Clay—a law which largely determined the ultimate overthrow of slavery in the Union.

Succeeding decades after 1820 did not show a retrogression of the town in respect of its citizens, though its industrial and commercial importance sadly declined. People of Brookville will point out to you the birthplace of General Lew Wallace, Governor of New Mexico, minister to Turkey and author of "Ben-Hur" and "The Prince of India." They will show you the old home of John P. St. John, the historic Prohibition Governor of Kansas and candidate for the Presidency. They will point out the birthplace of Maurice Thompson, the poet and naturalist, of whom the State is so proud. They will tell you of the boyhood home of Edward Eggleston, author of "The Hoosier Schoolmaster," who created a new school of authorship in English literature. They will show you the old Tyner homestead, recalling memories of Postmaster-General Tyner, of Grant's administration. They will tell you of the boyhood of General James S. Clarkson, surveyor of the port of New York, and long prominent in the leadership of the Republican party. They will point out to you the home of Dr. John R. Goodwin, once Comptroller at Washington. Amos Butler, scientist and sociologist, president of the National Conference of Charities and Correction, is another of the one-time citizens of Brookville.

The Brookville of to-day does not seem nearly so old as seemed the Brookville of a quarter-century ago. Old towns grow younger in dress and in spirit as the generations pass and the antiquated is replaced by the modern. Relic after relic disappears from the landscape.

Near the East Fork is preserved the old Speer mansion, known as "The Hermitage." This is now the home of the artist, J. Ottis Adams, who took the first prize this year in the exhibit of the Western Artists' Association at Chicago, and who received the gold medal at the St. Louis Exposition of 1904 for his painting

portraying a bit of the east bank of the Whitewater facing the mansion. T. C. Steele is likewise associated with the place, having made it one of his chief resorts for years.

These artists, already long famous, are growing in reputation with each passing year. About them are wont to gather, in the summer season, the artists and art-lovers of a wide circle. Forsyth and Meakin, painters; Barnhorn, the sculptor, and Nakagawa, the Japanese water-colorist, are among the best known of these, whose works as well as their visits testify to the beauty of Brookville's scenery.

AN EARLY CONTRIBUTION FROM THE FRIENDS TO THE INDIANS.

An Extract from "Seth Smith's Baltimore, One Thousand Eight Hundred and Four, According to the Present Callendar."

THE meeting was last year informed that the western Indians, in the Neighborhood of Fort-Wayne, were desirous of engaging in the cultivation of their lands, that they had requested the assistance of friends—And that the President of the United States was authorized to prohibit the introduction of spiritous liquors amongst them.—This being the situation of the business; some of the Committee were impressed with a belief, that it was necessary something should be done in it, and accordingly procured last spring, for the use of the Indians; 6 sets of Plough Irons, and their appurtenances, such as clevises, &c; 10 leather collars, 10 pair of Haims, 10 Pair of iron chains, & 10 Backbands, 50 Axes, 6 Mattocks, 6 iron wedges, 6 Maul rings and 50 Hoes—which were sent to Pittsburg, from whence they were to be immediately conveyed to Fort-Wayne, and delivered as a present from the Society of Friends here, to the Little Turtle and other chiefs, to be disposed of to such of their people as they knew were desirous of using them.—We also wrote a letter to the Indians, and one to William Wells (the agent at that place), and have received his answer; informing that on the 25th of the 7th month, he had an account of the Articles being on their way from Cincinnati and he expected they would arrive in a few days, and he would deliver them as directed, would also receive the reply of the Indians, to our letter to them, and forward it to us. This we have not yet received.—

The agent also informs that since there has been no spirituous liquor in the Indian Country, they are very industrious, and appear to be fond of raising stock. And gives it as his opinion, that the suppression of spirituous liquor in that Country, is the best thing that ever was done for them by the United States. That there has not been one Indian killed in that Neighborhood this year; and there has not been a year before since the treaty of

Grenville, in which there were less than 10 killed and some years as many as 30.—The Agent further adds, that the Indians appear very desirous of procuring for themselves, the necessaries of life in our way; but say, they do not know how to begin,—some of their old men say to him, “The white people want for nothing.—We wish them to show us how to procure the many good things we see amongst them. If it is their wish to instruct us Indians, in their way of living; as they tell us it is; we wish them to make haste and do it.—For we are old and must soon die.—but we wish to see our women and children in that Path; which will lead them to happiness before we die.—”

INDIANA'S FIRST SUNDAY-SCHOOL CONVENTION.

BY GEORGE S. COTTMAN.

THE first Sunday-school convention in Indiana was held in Indianapolis fifty-three years ago, or, more specifically, on October 27, 28 and 29, 1857, and was in response to a call issued by a few zealous men who deemed that in the religious instruction of the children lay the hope of the church. The State had for years been active in Sunday-school work, and, according to the statement of one of the workers, Indianapolis was "regarded as the greatest Sunday-school city in the Union." The idea of conventions was already in the air, several having been held in other States, and the first suggestion for one here was made by J. W. McIntyre at one of the monthly meetings of the Indianapolis Sabbath-School Association. Acting on this suggestion, a committee canvassed the State by letter and circular and elicited an encouraging response. The press generally was hospitable to the idea and most of the railroads offered half-rate transportation to delegates. Hence the call was issued, the object of the convention, as specified, being: "To seek out the best ways of conducting and teaching Sabbath-schools, and to promote a more general interest in the religious education of the young, and greater results from Sabbath-school instruction."

The attendance and interest evinced quite equaled the expectations of the promoters of the convention. Delegates came from all parts of the State. Of these there were 341 who enrolled and many besides who did not give their names to the secretary. At some of the meetings the old Wesleyan Chapel, on the Circle, was taxed to the utmost to accommodate the attendance.

The 341 enrolled delegates at this convention represented 166 schools, in the following denominational proportion: Methodist, 65; Old and New School Presbyterian, 37; Union Sabbath-Schools, 23; Baptist, 14; United Brethren, 8; Christian, 8; Lutheran, 3; Cumberland Presbyterian, 2; Congregational, 2; Friends, 1; Protestant Methodist, 1; Episcopal, 1; Associated Re-

formed Presbyterian, 1. The Methodists led all the others with 138 delegates.

Tables of statistics compiled as part of the work of this convention name 223 Sunday-schools in the State with an aggregate attendance of a little less than 17,000 pupils.

The majority of these schools report an increasing prosperity, but during the war period they evidently shared in the general setback, for in the convention of 1865 there were but 150 delegates, representing 125 schools, with 14,600 pupils. After the war the movement gained strength, and in 1873 it forged ahead with a showing of 3,116 schools and 252,000 pupils, which was far in advance of the previous year. In 1877 Indiana attained to third rank in the Union as a Sunday-school State, for which credit is given to the labors of W. H. Levering, of Lafayette, who was a zealous worker in this field.

In 1887 Indiana had the largest delegation of any State in the Union at the fifth International Convention, held at Chicago.

The convention of 1857 is so sunk in oblivion that Mr. Timothy Nicholson, in a historical address on the subject, credits the convention of 1865 as the first State meeting. Between these two dates no other seems to have been held, but since 1865 the annual convention has been continuous.

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INDIANA QUARTERLY MAGAZINE OF HISTORY

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CHRISTOPHER B. COLEMAN, *Editor*

HISTORY SECTION OF THE STATE TEACHERS' ASSOCIATION.

The annual meeting of the History Section of the Indiana State Teachers' Association was held at the Claypool Hotel, in Indianapolis, Friday and Saturday, April 29 and 30. Aside from the announced program, the members in attendance had the opportunity of listening to two talks to the Indianapolis teachers by Professor Frederick K. Turner, of the University of Wisconsin, president of the American Historical Association.

Officers chosen for 1910-1911 are: President, Frank A. Bogardus, Terre Haute; vice-president, Christopher B. Coleman, Indianapolis; secretary, Miss Harriott Clare Palmer, Franklin; additional members of executive committee, J. O. Batchelder, Marion, and J. W. Kendall, Bloomington. A committee was also appointed to participate in the arrangements for the American Historical Association meeting at Indianapolis, December 27-30, consisting of J. A. Woodburn, Harlow Lindley, J. R. H. Moore, J. Walter Dunn and Mabel Ryan.

The next meeting is to be held at Indianapolis at approximately the same time of year in 1911 as this meeting.

Our readers will all be interested to know that Mr. George S. Cottman, who has taken a leading part in historical work in the State, has returned to Indianapolis to live. His address is 339 Whittier Place.

FUNERAL NOTICE OF A REVOLUTIONARY SOLDIER.

FUNERAL.

Yourself and family are respectfully invited to attend the funeral of Mr. Suel Gilbert, from the residence of Mr. William Gilbert, to-day at half past 9 o'clock a. m. The funeral sermon

will be preached at the court house at 11 o'clock by the Rev. Robert Irvin.

The deceased will be interred with military honors.

Muncietown, November 9, 1843.

REVIEWS OF BOOKS.

WILSON'S HISTORY OF DUBOIS COUNTY.

[By George R. Wilson. Illustrated. 412 pp. Published by the author at Jasper, Indiana, 1910. \$4.]

Dubois is an Indiana county with a French name and a German population mixed with English and Irish elements. What an interesting field for the historian! Like many another district in the southern part of the State, when organized as a county (1817) in the decade after the battle of Tippecanoe, it took its name from one of the heroes of that action. Captain Toussaint Dubois, of Vincennes, thus became its patron saint. Its spiritual father, however, and the moulder of its early days, was not a man of the sword, but of the cloth, the Reverend Joseph Kundeck, Vicar General of the Catholic Diocese of Vincennes. Father Kundeck came to Vincennes from Austria as a missionary, and in 1838 was installed at Jasper. Until his death in 1857 he was a veritable apostle to the German Catholics of southern Indiana. He built up congregations at Jasper, Ferdinand, Fulda, Troy and Madison, was instrumental in founding St. Meinrad's, and when the second court-house of Dubois county proved too much for other contractors, he showed himself approved in secular as well as sacred things by undertaking it and finishing it in the most satisfactory manner to all concerned.

Mr. Wilson is the first historian of the county. He has been interested in it for years and has examined most of the available sources of information. He covers the ground from "primitive days to 1910," including also a geological and physical description of the county. His work seems to be accurate and complete. Much material for the history of the county joined the mass of such Indiana documents beyond the reach of the historian when

the first court-house at Jasper burned with all its records in 1839.

The book unfortunately has no index, though a full table of contents and alphabetical list of illustrations in part supplies the defect. In view of the relatively large foreign population, one would like to have a better account than Mr. Wilson gives of immigration into the county both from Europe and from other localities in this country. There is in the book, in fact, no systematic treatment of the way in which the population of the county came to be there. With these exceptions, however, it is a most excellent county history. Everyone in Dubois county ought to get a copy of it, and most Indianians would be interested in looking over it.

C. B. COLEMAN.

A HISTORY OF SULLIVAN COUNTY.

[Thomas J. Wolfe, Editor. Illustrated. 2 v., pp. 384, 425. The Lewis Publishing Co., Chicago. 1909.]

The Lewis Publishing Company is now in full swing of effort to exploit Indiana historically. It has reduced to a system the method employed sporadically by others. Each county taken up affords material for two large volumes—volume one a history of the county, and volume two a collection of the sketches of all who subscribe for the work. Both volumes must be bought together and both are sold by subscription before the work is published. The price charged is so high that it not only covers the value of the books but entitles the subscriber also to a biographical sketch among the notables of the county. The work has back of it, therefore, the three-fold force of whatever historical interest there may be in the community, the vanity of those who want to see their life story in print, and the business advantage of being included among the well-known citizens. It follows, of course, that volume one and volume two must be judged entirely separately, though they must be bought together. The Lewis Company, it must be said, usually secures the best qualified man in the county to write volume one. He is given free rein, and, to judge by the samples which have already been published, gives us, if not a history of the county, at least a fairly good lot of sketches of various things in the county. The biographical

sketches which constitute the whole of volume two can not be improved on; they can always be taken as the absolute truth for they are practically written by the subjects of the sketches themselves though retouched by an employe of the publishing company. Volume one is seldom if ever illustrated at all. Volume two is profusely illustrated with portraits of distinguished citizens. From a technical point of view the work is to be criticised for containing no map and no index of illustrations.

The History of Sullivan County in volume one is largely the work of Thomas J. Wolfe, of Sullivan, now more than seventy-eight years of age, whose own memory extends over much of the ground he covers. This county is no exception to the general rule in Indiana, for all its early records were destroyed in the burning of the court-house (Sullivan, February 7, 1850.) Some of the imported facts in the county history, therefore, have been lost and accuracy in other matters can not be attained. Mr. Wolfe does not give a history of the county and its inhabitants, but a series of twenty-eight chapters upon various subjects, chiefly institutions in the county, e. g., Military Annals, Education, Churches.

A HISTORY OF CLAY COUNTY.

[William Travis. Illustrated. 2 v., pp. 627, 537. The Lewis Publishing Company, Chicago, 1909.]

This is a Lewis Publishing Company history with the merits and weaknesses described above. Perhaps volume one should be noticed as making even less pretense than usual to being a consecutive history. The last 228 pages are devoted to four hundred detached reminiscences of various affairs, many entirely unimportant. The lack of a detailed index renders this of very little use. Among the chapters of especial interest are those on Indian Occupation and Relics, and the Wabash and Erie Canal and Feeders-Reservoir War.

Again the reviewer is confronted with the tragedy of Indiana history in the apparently universal destruction of early records. All records of Clay county prior to 1851, except those in the recorder's office, were destroyed by the court-house fire at Bowling Green on November 30, 1851.

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THE PUBLIC DOCUMENTS OF INDIANA.

BY JOHN A. LÁPP,

Legislative Reference Librarian, State Library.

“**H**ISTORY is past politics; politics is present history.” These oft-quoted words of Freeman emphasize the importance of the official publications of a state in preserving the records of present politics so that they may be crystallized into accurate history in the future.

Public documents have been the source, largely, from which all history has been written. The records of courts and governments being the most complete, unbroken and voluminous of all sources, have been especially tempting to the historian. Thus history has been emphasized on the political side. The meager sources of the social and industrial life of a people have been neglected. The labor of bringing the scattered facts of social and industrial progress into anything which approaches completeness has discouraged the writer of history, and he has turned to the public documents as his source, and has written from them the record of politics and government. It is not at all strange that very little of the real life of the people has found its way into our histories. The public documents have in the past told little of the social and industrial life. The same is true of all states and countries, but grows less and less to be the case with the progress of humanitarian government. When governments establish agencies which are devoted particularly to human welfare, they have a source of information from which valuable reports may be compiled and real history written.

In common with progress all over the world, this state is fast developing a new kind of public document. The history of this state at the present time, if written from the public documents, could be

devoted quite largely to the social and industrial progress of mankind. The advance of government activity into fields of social and economic thought will make it still easier in the future to study the history of man as a social being from the records of the state's activity.

There is a popular belief, unfortunately widespread among scholars themselves, that public documents are dry and uninteresting. They are often treated as so much junk and denied shelf room even in some otherwise progressive libraries. As a matter of fact, public documents are usually clear, well written, and contain material which can not be obtained from any other source.

The public officer is in a fortunate position to know the field in which he is engaged. He is at the source of information. He knows the problems; he knows the demands which are made upon him; and he knows, too, the difficulties of administration. From his experience and observation he is able to give careful, unbiased reports. Who, for example, in the state has information concerning charities at all comparable with the secretary of the board of state charities, or of health conditions, comparable with the secretary of the state board of health? We might go down the whole list of public officials with the same conclusion that the public officer is in a position to know best the condition of the field in which he works. The public document is, or should be, the exposition of this knowledge to the public.

In his admirable pioneer work, "The Official Documents of Indiana," published in 1890, Judge Daniel W. Howe said:

"I presume that most persons look upon 'official publications' as belonging to that class of books which are characterized by James Russell Lowell as 'literature suited to desolate islands.' I admit that they are not as fascinating as the latest novel, but I affirm that there is a great deal of valuable and interesting reading in them. The books enumerated in this catalog contain information which is indispensable to one who wishes to be familiar with the history of the state. They contain a great deal upon many topics of interest to the educator and student. They show the record of Indiana from a beginning in the wilderness to the front rank of states—a record splendid in war and in peace."

When Judge Howe wrote this judgment of the value of Indiana's

official publications, those documents contained only a small part of the human interest which may be found in them at the present time.

We have had marked advances in government activity since 1890. New phases have been developed, and the increased interest taken by the people in the affairs of the government has tended to promote an intelligent interpretation of the state's activity through official reports.

A glance at the list of new offices created since 1890 and an examination of their reports will show the marked advance of educational and social activity in the state's work. Some of those created since 1890 are, the labor bureau, library commission, factory inspector, railroad commission, state entomologist, state veterinarian, food and drug commissioner, state board of accounts, state board of forestry, free employment bureau and tax commission. The work of the state board of health, board of state charities, state geologist, state statistician, state library and others has been largely increased, making a progress along educational and industrial lines unparalleled in the history of the state.

The public document of to-day is different from that of 1890, when Judge Howe declared its value as historical material. It is more educational and reaches some of the most human phases of life. It is not now merely an official record, but a record of social, economic and educational progress. While not yet as absorbing as the "latest novel," the majority of documents will repay the most careful study. The future historian will find in them a wealth of material from which to tell the tale of progress.

Great as is its value, however, this material is largely inaccessible. It is a rich store of knowledge of the affairs of Indiana without an index. It takes patience to go through the many volumes in search of a connected story of any particular thing.

Judge Howe did a notable service in describing the official publications of the state from the beginning to 1890. The state library has since cataloged the documentary journal, and the catalog was published in 1899. The catalog of the state library, published in 1903, brings the catalog of documents down to that date. Since that time there has been no published catalog, the card catalog of the state library being the only check list of the documents since 1903.

Valuable as are these lists and descriptions in blazing a way

through the mass of material, they are of small service in research on any particular topic. For example, take the report of the state geologist. The catalogs merely state that for each year given a report was issued. It is merely a check list to show that the required duty of making an annual report had been complied with. What the investigator needs most is a cumulative index of all such reports, so that he may locate a particular topic in the report of the state geologist, superintendent of public instruction, governor's message, or in any other state document. Such an index should be provided. It would make the public documents live again to tell the past experience of the state government in all its activities. It becomes increasingly important with the advance of such activities.

Documents which are merely office records of a regular yearly routine do not need such an index. Their contents being identical from year to year, all that is necessary is a check list to show that the volume was issued and published for each year or biennial period. Few documents are, however, of this nature. Those which are most useful contain data and discussions on the pressing problems of the time, and as those problems change from year to year, the contents of the reports are always changing. Take the report of the board of state charities as an example. The work of the board is always progressing into new fields. As old problems are solved, new ones arise because of the growing complexity of society and an awakening humanitarian interest. An index to each detail of the reports and bulletins of the board would be invaluable. Likewise with the other reports which are issued for educational purposes. The one pressing need for historical purposes is an index covering all the documents of the state, including the special reports to the legislature made by officers and committees.

With these general statements concerning the use of public documents as historical material and the need of a subject index, it will be useful to consider the character of the present state documents. These documents are published separately. Some of the reports are later bound together in the documentary journal, but of late this unnecessary duplication of publication seems to be going out of favor and the number has been cut to the minimum. The documentary journal does not contain all of the reports. Some of those which are most educational are omitted and published only

in separate form. It is in this form that they attain the widest usefulness.

For many years the number of documents issued was fixed by law without regard to the present demands. The legislature in 1909 passed a law giving the commissioners of the public printing, binding and stationery the power to fix the number of all documents. This was a wise provision, which allows the money appropriated for the purpose to be spent on those publications which fill a real public need. It is subject to the danger, however, that meritorious publications may sometimes be turned down for reasons which do not have the public interest in view. A wise policy which takes account of the public service of good official documents will, however, be possible under this law.

The state publications may be divided roughly according to our general classification of the powers of government into legislative, executive and judicial documents. [For a fuller description of the present state documents, see the *Public Library Occurrent*, March and June, 1910, published by the Public Library Commission, Indianapolis.]

The published legislative documents consist of the journals of the house and the senate, legislative bills, rules of the two houses, the legislative and state manual, the report of the legislative investigating committee and special reports made from time to time.

The journals are the records of the proceedings of the General Assembly, and are indispensable in tracing the history of any legislation. They must, however, be always used with care. They are hastily prepared, are not printed from day to day, and no opportunity is given for correction.

The legislative bills are preserved in the state library. The originals for the years since 1859 are on file, and bound volumes of printed bills since 1899 are kept. The legislative reference department has recently completed an index of all bills introduced in the sessions of 1905, 1907 and 1909, thus making it possible to quickly trace the history of legislation during those years.

The legislative and state manual has been issued biennially since 1899, except for 1901. It is devoted to information concerning the

state officials, biographies of members of the legislature, party platforms, rules of the two houses and the constitution of the state.

In 1901 it was provided that a committee of one senator and two representatives should be appointed by the governor, after the November election, to visit the institutions and offices of the state and report on their needs. The provision for this committee was an intelligent attempt to get at a scientific basis for appropriations. Special reports to the legislature are not common in this state. We have had few commissions working through the recess of the legislature, such as are found in other states. When such committees work on specific problems their reports are invaluable. The use of this method to promote good legislation should be encouraged.

The foremost executive documents are the messages of the governor. It would be safe to say that an impartial history of the best political thought of Indiana could be written from the files of the biennial and special messages of the chief executive. The governor is intimately in touch with the conditions of the state, and all sources of information are open to him. His recommendations for legislation invariably point the way to better conditions. The state library has collected separates of these messages and bound them in two volumes. An index to the regular messages down to 1850 was recently published by the legislative reference department, and a card index has been made for the regular, special and veto messages since 1890. As soon as practicable this work will be carried to completion.

The reports of the auditor of state, including the report of the insurance department, bank department and building and loan department, the attorney general, state treasurer and secretary of state, need no special description. The material contained in them is uniform from year to year.

The report of the superintendent of public instruction touches some of the most important phases of social life. The administration of the educational affairs of the state places the superintendent in an ideal position to determine the needs of the schools. An experienced educator in so fortunate a position to observe every phase of the educational system, and charged with administrative duties

which make his observation intensely practical, is able to make a report which goes to the heart of the educational problems.

Two other elective offices produce reports of a scientific educational character, namely, the state geologist and the chief of the bureau of statistics. The primary purpose of these offices is educational. To each, however, has been attached certain administrative duties. Thus the geologist appoints the state mine inspector and deputies and the natural gas supervisor, and the chief of the bureau of statistics has charge of the state free employment bureau and licenses private employment agencies. The report of the state geologist deals with the natural resources of the state; the statistician's report is a census of social and economic facts. Both are exceedingly valuable.

We hear much in these days of government by boards and commissions. It is not a new form of government, but the extension of government activity has brought it more prominently into use. The board system has been the accepted form for the management of institutions for a long period, and is in almost universal use in this country. Commissions have come into use largely through the increased regulation of business of a public service nature. They fill their best function in those matters which are judicial or semi-judicial, affecting property or personal rights; thus the fixing of rates of railroads and regulation of their service are judicial in their nature, hence a commission is deemed the best form to insure fairness. In Indiana there are eighteen boards of trustees having general charge of different educational and charitable institutions. Each board makes an annual report, which sets forth statistics of the work done and the financial conditions of the institutions, together with the report of the president or superintendent in charge. There are seven examining boards to license practitioners in the following subjects, namely: Medicine, pharmacy, nursing, optometry, veterinary medicine, dentistry and embalming. Only the first two publish reports.

The character of the history of this generation, when written by the impartial future historian, will be much affected by the public documents issued by the officers and commissions which deal with the social and economic life of our people. The reports of the board of state charities, state board of health, state board of agri-

culture, state board of forestry, state board of accounts, railroad commission, labor commission, factory inspector and tax commission cover pretty well the field of social and economic progress. Most of these offices and commissions have been organized within very recent years. They represent the growth of government activity in protecting the public in the increasingly complex life of to-day.

The state entomologist and state veterinarian deal with diseases, respectively, of plants and animals. The state has wisely provided for conservation by this plague and pest prevention work. The summary given in the reports is highly instructive.

The report of the commission of fisheries and game is the most widely distributed of all state documents. A large part of the people are interested in this field, and the report is of high grade for practical and scientific purposes.

The reports of the state librarian and the public library commission and the bulletins of each are published for the special use of librarians. These contain book lists, special bibliographies, news notes and articles on phases of library work and development. The state library bulletin contains frequently lists of special historical material. The establishment of a department of Indiana archives and history in the state library has done much to promote the collection of state and local historical material. Information concerning this material may be found from time to time in the publications of the state library.

With the mention of two other reports of officers, namely, the adjutant general and the custodian of public buildings and grounds, the list of state documents is complete. In addition to the regular reports, the proceedings of the Indiana Academy of Science and the Horticultural Society are published by the state.

Little need be said concerning the judicial documents of the state. They consist of the reports of cases decided in the appellate and supreme courts. These documents are published primarily for lawyers and judges. It is a mistaken notion, however, that they contain nothing of interest to the layman. Legal cases, when stripped of legal formality, have an intense human interest. That interest increases as the courts adapt themselves more and more to a social

and economic basis for their decisions within the strict letter of the law and constitution. Court cases are now an essential check in the writing of history. The decisions affect so much the scope and validity of statutes that no fact can be stated with certainty concerning any law until the decisions of the supreme and appellate courts have been examined.

In this discussion of the state documents no attempt has been made to point out defects in any document or series. That there are many defects and inaccuracies can not be doubted. Change of officers and methods, difference in classification and in time periods, and the degree of liberality of financial support by the state are some of the conditions which affect the completeness and accuracy of reports. Like all historical matter, the state document needs careful analysis and collateral support.

The public documents of Indiana have been neglected in spite of the admirable provisions made for their distribution. There is a prejudice against them as dry, uninteresting material. They doubtless are dry to the average reader who seeks entertainment, but to the student of social welfare they are a source of living information. They should be studied for the light which will be thrown on the true history of the state, and for the effect which their critical use will have in their improvement through the interest which the public official sees manifested in his work.

THE BISON, OR BUFFALO, IN THE UNITED STATES.

[Reprinted in part from the *Indianapolis News*, September 3, 1910. Consult also J. A. Allen, "The American Bisons" (Cambridge, 1876), and W. T. Hornaday, "Extirpation of the American Bison," in Annual Report of the Smithsonian Institution for 1887.—*Editor*.]

THE seal of Indiana shows a wild buffalo fleeing before civilization, represented by a pioneer felling a tree. Whoever devised the seal was not wrong, historically speaking, for the buffalo was once found in Indiana, though never in as great numbers as he was farther west. His natural range and habitat covered a larger extent of country than most persons think. There is a consensus of authorities that this range extended from north of the Great Slave lake, in Canada, latitude about 63 degrees north. To the west it extended as far as the Blue mountains of Oregon and east to include the western portions of New York, Pennsylvania and Virginia. There is no reasonable doubt that the animals were once found in Ohio, Kentucky, Indiana, Illinois, Iowa, and all of the northern, western and northwestern states. This does not mean that all parts of this extensive region were equally inhabited with buffaloes at all times, or that they always appeared in large herds. They were migratory in their habits, moved while feeding, and, though they generally moved slowly, they covered long distances.

For obvious reasons historic evidence as to the prevalence of buffaloes is scant, but there is reason to believe that they once inhabited this continent from the Arctic slope to Mexico and from Virginia to Oregon. The Indians hunted them long before the white man did, and, for all anybody knows, the mound builders may have hunted them long before the Indians. They roamed the wilds of America long before the white man joined in the work of extermination. The early explorers were constantly astonished by the multitudinous herds which they met with, the regularity of their movements and the deep paths they cut in traveling from place to place. Some of the earliest roads in the middle west were laid out along buffalo trails. Ebenezer Zane, an early pioneer and surveyor in

Ohio, for whom Zanesville was named, laid out some of the early roads in that state on buffalo paths.

An article on zoology in a natural history of New York, published by authority of the state, says:

"The bison, or American buffalo, has long since been extirpated from this state; and, although at present it is not found east of the Mississippi, yet there is abundant testimony from various writers to show that this animal was formerly numerous along the Atlantic coast, from New York to Mexico."

Aside from fossil remains and the marks of "buffalo beats" which were still visible a generation or two ago, there is reliable evidence that buffaloes once ranged over Ohio and into Pennsylvania and New York. La Salle, who made a journey in 1680 from the Illinois river to Quebec, passing south of Lake Erie and across the present states of Illinois, Indiana, Ohio and a part of western New York and Pennsylvania, mentions "wild bulls" among the animals encountered, and says the Indians "are continually hunting them." Charlevoix, who traveled nearly the same country in 1721, says that "on the south side of the lake (Erie) there are vast herds of wild cattle." Other early French explorers referred to the wild cattle, which, of course, were buffaloes.

Fifty years ago there were old men living in Ohio and Pennsylvania who had heard from their fathers or grandfathers of buffaloes being killed in those states.

Perhaps buffaloes were never very abundant in Indiana, but this region was once embraced in their range, especially the western counties of the state. Dr. Hahn, formerly of the National Museum at Washington, says:

"In Indiana buffaloes were not so numerous as west of the Mississippi, but were doubtless as abundant as in Kentucky. Indeed, there seems to have been a regular migration from the prairies of the west across Indiana to the salt licks and bluegrass meadows of Kentucky. One of their trails crossed the Wabash river nine miles south of Vincennes."

W. T. Hornaday places the date of their last appearance in Indiana in 1810, but a foreigner who spent the winter of 1832-'33 at New Harmony said they were still abundant on the Illinois prairies, a few days' journey from there. The man who made the brick for

the Harrison mansion at Vincennes saw buffalo near there in 1808; and a man named Bailey, who came to Vincennes in 1806, said he could have killed buffalo just east of the town as late as 1810.

A buffalo skull was found a few miles from Vincennes about fifteen years ago. When found it was several feet below the surface, and was partly unearthed by the caving in of the bank of a deep ditch. Though somewhat decayed, the horns were well preserved, and measured more than three feet from tip to tip. This specimen was sent to Earlham College, and probably is still preserved there. Several buffalo horns and bones have been brought to State Geologist Blatchley from different parts of the state.

But the principal habitat of the animals was on the great plains west of the Mississippi, and they herded there in vast numbers. All the early explorers, travelers and hunters gave wonderful accounts of those great herds. Lewis and Clarke, Colonel Fremont, Colonel Pike, Major Long and other army officers who made early explorations tell about them. An early traveler in the west, Farnham by name, says in his diary:

"On the 23d (June) the buffaloes were more numerous than ever. They were arranged in long lines from the eastern to the western horizon. The bulls were forty or fifty yards in advance of the bands of cows, to which they were prepared to give protection. June 24: The buffaloes during the last three days had covered the whole country so completely that many times it appeared extremely dangerous for our cavalcade to attempt to break its way through them. We traveled at the rate of fifteen miles a day. The length of sight on either side of the trail, fifteen miles; on both sides, thirty miles; * * * 1,350 square miles of country so thickly covered with buffaloes that when viewed from a height one could scarcely see a square league of land uncovered by them."

There are persons still living who have seen them on the western plains in vast numbers. When the Kansas Pacific railroad was first built its trains were frequently detained by herds crossing the tracks in front of the engines, and as late as 1870 a train was "held up" three hours by this cause. At first the engineers tried the experiment of running through these passing herds, but after their engines had been thrown from the tracks they learned more wisdom and gave the buffaloes the right of way.

But the Indians and whites both made war on them. The Indians depended on them largely for subsistence and used their skins for tents and robes. They hunted them the year round and killed them recklessly. Later, when the white population increased and a demand sprang up for the skins, the Indians did a large business in that line. In 1843 a Mr. Sanford, partner in the American Fur Company, made a report to Lieutenant, afterward General John C. Fremont, in which he said:

"The total number of buffalo robes annually traded by ourselves and others will not be found to differ much from the following: American Fur Company, 70,000; Hudson Bay Company, 10,000; all other companies, probably 10,000, making a total of 90,000 robes as an average annual return for the last eight or ten years. In the northwest the Hudson Bay Company purchased from the Indians but a very small number, its only market being Canada, to which the cost of transportation nearly equals the cost of the furs, and it is only within a very recent period that it has received buffalo robes in trade; and out of the great number of buffaloes annually killed throughout the extensive region inhabited by the Comanches and other kindred tribes no robes whatever are furnished for trade. During only four months of the year, from November to March, are the skins good for dressing; those obtained in the remaining eight months are valueless to traders, and the hides of bulls are never taken off or dressed as robes at any season. Probably not more than one-third of the skins are taken from the animals killed, even when they are in good season, the labor of preparing and dressing the robes being very great; and it is seldom that a lodge trades more than twenty skins in a year. It is during the summer months and the early part of the autumn that the greatest number of buffaloes are killed, and yet at this time a skin is never taken for the purpose of trade."

THE EARLIEST INDIANA SCHOOL JOURNAL.

[We publish herein part of the second number of the first volume of *Common School Advocate*. The first number, so far as known, is lost. This number was found by Mr. Jacob P. Dunn bound in the back of an early number of the *Indiana Farmer and Gardener* in the Indianapolis Public Library. It is not only interesting for its age, but instructive as well for the information it contains on the state of education in Indiana before the formation of its public school system and on the agitation which produced the change. The reader will notice that this paper is dated October 15, 1846, nearly two months before Caleb Mills's first address to the legislature appeared in the *Indianapolis State Journal*.—*Editor.*]

COMMON SCHOOL ADVOCATE.

Devoted to Common Schools—the only guaranty of our Republic.

VOL. 1.

INDIANAPOLIS, OCTOBER 15, 1846.

NO. 2.

H. F. WEST, Editor.

OUR SECOND APPEAL.

Public opinion, a powerful means of correcting abuses, has for a long time slept over the Common Schools of our country. It is but a few years since it was aroused upon the subject of intemperance, and its influence has, as it were, revolutionized the world. It has to individuals, to families, to society, averted calamities more to be dreaded than war, pestilence and famine. Not only this, it has raised from the lowest depths of degradation and misery the brutalized husband, the father, the brother, the son, and clothed them in their right minds, wiping the tears from a wretched mother, and spreading light, and happiness, and comfort, around the fireside of a disgraced and beggared family. And now, how are we to awaken public opinion, and bring its omnipotence to bear upon the interests of the Common Schools of our country? What can unsepulchre this sleeping dust, galvanize it into life, and make its mighty power subservient to the cause of education? We answer, THE PRESS.

The Press has within itself the power of creating public opinion. It has but to concentrate its power, turn its focal light upon the

subject, and cause it to shine steadily and faithfully upon it, and soon the people will see a light spring up in their dwellings; they will see clearer and clearer their privileges, their duties and their responsibilities. The Press has but to hold up to the public mind that ignorance is the high-road to infamy and that a government based upon the virtue and intelligence of the people is only to be perpetuated by the education of our children, and public opinion will make it as disreputable for parents who do not provide for their children the best possible instruction in their power, as it did, and now does, those who spend their lives in drunkenness and debauchery. There is no error, however great or small, that can stand before the concentrated thunder of the Press. Although iniquity may clothe itself with the habiliments of the just, and raise its brazen front to heaven, yet the Press can strip it of its covering and lay it naked before the world.

The Press of our own State has just come out of a political contest, where one portion of it has been resolutely arrayed against the other, and while the dust of the battle-field is still upon its armor, a call from the institutions of our country will be made a common cause, and, as the voice of one man, it will be unitedly responded to. And now we ask our brethren of the Press, if there is one thing within the whole range of their duties that has so strong a claim upon their labors as the Common Schools of our State. You appreciate the importance of Education, and it is in your power to call the attention of the people to this subject. And wherever there is such a controlling influence, as the Press wields over the destinies of individuals, of States, and of the nation, let it not be forgotten that there is fastened to that influence a corresponding responsibility from which there is no escape.

We ask the Press to co-operate with us in bringing public opinion to bear upon the absolute necessity of a thorough reformation in our Common Schools. We want school laws that will be efficient, and such as the people can understand. We want to know definitely the amount of the available school funds of the State, and how they are and have been expended. We want to know the amount of funds that are not available, if any; the amount of unsold lands, if any. We want to know how many school districts there are in the State, and how many of these districts there has no school been kept in for

the last two years, and how many school districts never received a dollar of the public money. We want to know how many children are enumerated for the purpose of drawing the school funds, that have never been to school a day in their lives. We want some plan devised by which the thousands of children in our State, that neither read nor write, *shall* have a Common School education. There are a great many other wants, such as comfortable schoolhouses, appropriate school books, qualified teachers, all of which the Press understands, and feels the importance of the reform we are trying to bring about. And we once more solicit the aid of the Press in the arduous undertaking we have commenced.

OUR SCHOOL SYSTEMS—SUGGESTIONS.

The following amendments of our school laws are respectfully suggested to the people for their consideration, and especially for the executive and legislative branches of our State government:

The school system of the State of Indiana is, with some exceptions, a good system. There are, however, defects, and some of them of such importance as to render the whole almost valueless. Without remodeling over the whole system, we propose some few alterations, and give our reasons for the same.

In the first place, if possible, consolidate the school fund.

2. Let the distribution be made annually, instead of semi-annually, and on the fourth Monday of February. Our reasons for these two alterations are: It will be far less complicated to have the entire school moneys paid into the State treasury and apportioned to each county in one amount, than to have it pass through so many different hands in collecting, keeping, apportioning and disbursing. By distributing the school moneys annually instead of semi-annually, to the townships, a great amount of time and expense will be saved, and it answers every purpose. The schools in the country generally close the last of February, and the money will then be ready to pay the teacher. The Commissioners' Court being held on the first Monday of March, is another reason for selecting the fourth Monday of February.

3. Make township clerks superintendents of Common Schools for their respective townships; let them draw the public money

and distribute it to the different school districts, according to the number of children between 5 and 21 years of age. Make it their duty to obtain a correct list of all the children in their respective townships—number that have attended school within the last year—number of school districts—select or private schools—school-houses—their condition—the branches taught—number of male teachers—number of female teachers—the amount of public money expended in their townships, and the purpose for which it was expended. Make it their duty to visit each school at least once in each session, and report the whole to the county auditor between the first of September and the first of October, annually. Let the State furnish two blanks for each township, prepared for the above report, one to be filed in the office of the county auditor, and the other in the office of the township clerk. Let these officers be paid a per diem allowance for each and every day's services rendered in their official capacity, and let them give security for a faithful performance of their duty.

4. Make it the duty of the county auditors to report to the State Superintendent the whole information furnished in the township clerks' reports, on or before the first day of November, annually. By adopting this or a similar plan, information, so necessary to a thorough improvement in our schools, will be regularly diffused throughout the State. The law requires the State Superintendent to report to the legislature, and through his report and the action of that body, the people will be advised of everything in relation to the schools of our State. We shall then know the condition of our school fund, and those who are benefited by it, as well as those who are receiving no advantages from it. We shall then be able understandingly to correct abuses, and make such improvements as our present condition requires. By this simple arrangement, the intelligence we need comes up fresh from the people, and the public money returns, based upon that intelligence, through a plain, straight channel to every township whose clerk has not failed to make the required report. For it will be recollected that the apportionment must be made upon the number of children between the ages of 5 and 21. If any township neglects to furnish the county auditor with the required report by the specified time, that township will lose its proportion of the public money, as upon this plan it will

have to be apportioned among those who promptly and faithfully do their duty. The weak districts, as well as the strong, will receive their just proportion, the same as they do under the present law, and each member of every school district will understand that it is for his interest that the school laws are strictly enforced and faithfully lived up to.

5. Elevate the standard of qualification for teachers of our district schools. Let no teacher obtain a certificate from the examiner who is not qualified to teach reading, orthography, arithmetic, grammar, geography and history. These are the branches that other States require their teachers to understand, while we only require the examiner to certify what branches the teacher is qualified to teach. If a teacher can teach spelling in words of two syllables, and has a good character, a certificate can be obtained, and the public money appropriated for his services. This low standard holds out no inducements for teachers to make the least exertion to high attainments, and the effect of this is the poverty—the wretched and beggarly preparation—of a vast amount of our children, for the great purposes of life that are before them. We may rest assured, if we *do not* require a high standard of instruction, we will not call into action those high and noble faculties of the human mind, but if *we do*, we shall soon see those desirous of being teachers putting forth their energies to come up to the required standard.

Six reasons for the amendment of this school law: In the first place, it is a disgrace to the State to have so low a standard. Second, it encourages ignorance, by not giving countenance to intelligence. Third, all its tendencies are directly downward. Fourth, self-defense. Ohio, on one side, and Illinois, on the other, have raised their standards, and at this present time teachers who are not qualified to teach the children of Illinois are coming into Indiana, knowing they are abundantly qualified to teach the children of our State; and teachers residing in our State, qualified to bear an examination in Illinois, are leaving for the latter. Fifth, as is the teacher, so is the scholar. Sixth, raise the standard, and teachers will throw aside their qualified ignorance and exert themselves to honor its demands. Raise the standard, and other States will give us credit and future generations will bless our memory.

PARENTS, A WORD WITH YOU.

If we were to ask you if it were your honest and earnest intention to give your children a good Common School education, you would consider it a gross insult. If we were to ask you if you do really and candidly desire a good school in your neighborhood, you would think us insane. If we should ask you this question, Do you know what a good school is and what is necessary to establish and keep up a good school? you would certainly think we ought to have a straightjacket put upon us, and sent forthwith to the lunatic asylum. But let us investigate these matters fairly and honestly, for if any are in error, it is for their own interest to be made acquainted with it, and much more for their credit to acknowledge and abandon it.

Hundreds of parents have repeatedly said to us, "If we never give our children a dollar, we are determined they shall have a good education; they shall not be turned off upon the world, as we were, just barely able to read and write." These are good resolutions, but they would be far better if they were always lived up to. There is no use in parents boasting of their children's education, if the children have not got it. And the great things parents are *going* to do for their children may be *guessed* at by what they have already done for them. And we ask *you* parents who have been telling how much you would do for your children, ever since you have had a child old enough to go to school, How much education have your children got? We will try and assist you in ascertaining the amount, for if you have been honest and truthful in all your pretensions, the result will be most truly gratifying. Let us construct an imaginary scale, ranging from zero to 50 degrees. Let us suppose that the lower order of animals, and man uneducated, stand upon the same level, at zero. Reading shall mark the first degree upon the scale; spelling the second; writing the third; figures the fourth; geography the fifth; grammar the sixth; history the seventh, etc. Now we wish you to be the judges in this examination, and we ask you to select some easy lesson and let your children read it to you. If the reading does not come up to the standard of what you consider good reading, you will perceive they are not, by the education you have given them, raised one degree on the scale. Suppose we place spell-

ing first; take the spelling book and test their attainments. If they can not spell well, you need not expect them to read well, and you may stop there. Now, is this the good education you have talked so much about giving to your children?

The second query, "whether you do really and candidly desire a good school in your neighborhood," we will take for granted an affirmative answer. We suppose it to be fair to judge of the honesty of men's professions by their actions. We read: "The tree is known by its fruit." What have you individually done to obtain a good school? Have you spent one week, or even one day, in endeavoring to improve your school? Have you given one dollar extra for the purpose of having a qualified teacher instruct your children? Have you made the schoolhouse comfortable for them? Have you furnished them with suitable books? Have you taken any interest at all in the school? Have you ever crossed the threshold of the schoolhouse within the last year for the purpose of ascertaining the condition of your school, suggesting improvements and correcting abuses? If you have done none of these things, we would advise you as a friend to say no more about your anxiety to have good schools. Say no more about "miserable teachers," "wretched schools," "poor encouragement to give your children schooling," etc. We will ask you one or two more questions on this point. How much time and money have you expended within the last year to improve your cattle, your swine, your grasses, grains, implements of husbandry, of the mechanical arts? And how much for the instruction of your children? Your honest answers to these questions will show you precisely where you stand. Do not understand us, that we do not approve of all your exertions to better your grains, to improve your stock, for we assure you we highly commend and encourage all such improvements, but at the same time we can not help thinking of the question our Savior put to the Pharisees: "How much better then is a man than a brute?"

The third and last query suggested would be deemed impertinent, if there were not such a variety of opinions as to what constitutes a "good school." We will not attempt in this number to go into this "legion" of opinions, but reserve them for a separate article; but will assure you, that the school is good and the instruction beneficial, that advances your children thoroughly and rapidly, and at the same

time softens their dispositions, refines their manners and gives a healthy tone to their morals. And is not that school worse than valueless, where your children go from week to week, and no visible attainments made in their studies? Where their manners are coarse and vulgar? Where you can hear nothing but the low, cant phrases of the day, such as are picked up from the clown of a circus, and retailed through the country by every low-bred specimen of depravity? Now, parents, what has been the improvement in your children for the last year? You must be the judges. If you have good schools, and you have done your duty, you can see a great difference in the morals, manners and attainments of your children.

In order to keep up a good school, you must visit it, you must watch over it, encourage it by your counsel, and co-operate with the teacher. And more than this, you must try to awaken an interest in your neighborhood, you must *know* and *feel* the responsibilities that rest upon you as parents, that you are accountable to your children, to society, to your country, and to God, for any and every neglect in the education of your children; that you have got to meet all these responsibilities face to face sooner or later, and "there is no darkness or shadow of death where you can hide from them."

MARK THE DIFFERENCE.—Some of the school district trustees are already in the market, cheapening teachers, trying to find one to take charge of the children over whom they have a temporary supervision, for about *six dollars* per month. They state, what everybody knows to be true, they are ignorant themselves, and then erroneously infer that a teacher who does not know much, is just as good for them as one who is capable of refining and improving their children, provided he will teach cheap enough. They often go to the examiner, and request him to give a teacher they have already bargained with, a certificate, so they can draw the public money, where the examiner knows the candidate has not one qualification requisite for a school teacher. But where people are enlightened, and duly appreciate the blessings of good schools, we see them pursuing a different course. Read the following from the Lebanon Star, Ohio:

"A TEACHER WANTED, to take charge of a fall and winter school in fractional school district No. 3, Turtle-creek township. Good morals, a thorough English education, energy, promptitude,

and decision in the management and government of the school, are qualifications that the applicant must be in possession of. Liberal wages will be given. Apply soon to either of the undersigned directors."

EDUCATION.

The following descending scale of education in the United States in 1840, shows the proportion of white persons in each State above the age of 21 years, who can neither read nor write, to those who can:

No.	1. Connecticut	1 in 311
	2. New Hampshire	1 in 150
	3. Massachusetts	1 in 139
	4. Maine	1 in 72
	5. Vermont	1 in 58
	6. Michigan	1 in 44
	7. New York and New Jersey	1 in 29
	8. Pennsylvania	1 in 28
	9. Ohio	1 in 27
	10. Iowa	1 in 26
	11. Louisiana	1 in 16
	12. District of Columbia	1 in 15
	13. Maryland and Wisconsin	1 in 13
	14. Indiana and Mississippi	1 in 10
	15. Florida	1 in 9
	16. Illinois and Arkansas	1 in 8
	17. Missouri	1 in 7
	18. Delaware and S. Carolina	1 in 6
	19. Virginia, Alabama, Kentucky and Georgia	1 in 5
	20. N. Carolina and Tennessee	1 in 4

INDEX OF HISTORICAL ARTICLES IN INDIANA NEWSPAPERS.

JUNE, 1910—AUGUST, 1910

*PREPARED BY FLORENCE VENN,
Reference Librarian, Indiana State Library.*

Abbreviations: Ind., Indianapolis; mag. sec., magazine section; p., page; c., column.

- Alley, John. A poet-prophet of early Indiana. Ind. Star, June 26, 1910, p. 12, c. 5.
- Beard, John. Father of Indiana's school fund system. Ind. News, Aug. 5, 1910, p. 18, c. 4.
- Biddle, James. Death of civil war colonel. Ind. News, June 10, 1910, p. 1, c. 4.
- Campaign Songs. Whig songs for 1844. Muncie Press, June 18, 1910, p. 5, c. 4.
- Carpenter, Walter T. Sketch of life. Richmond Palladium, Aug. 30, 1910, p. 1, c. 5.
- Cass county. Old Sally's village and the Indians of early Cass county days. Muncie Star, Aug. 1, 1910, p. 6, c. 1.
- Charities. Development of state charities as shown by pamphlet issued by board of state charities. South Bend Tribune, Aug. 23, 1910, p. 3, c. 3. Ind. Star, Aug. 21, 1910, p. 9, c. 7.
- Confederate soldiers. Government anxious to identify burial places of Confederate soldiers. Terre Haute Star, June 12, 1910, p. 19, c. 1; Muncie Star, June 12, 1910, p. 2, c. 1.
- Constitutional elm. Corydon women start movement to preserve it. Ind. News, Aug. 2, 1910, p. 14, c. 7.
- Dexter, Henry T. Story of man who made Evansville an important port of the Ohio. Evansville Courier, July 31, 1910, p. 8, c. 1.
- Eggleston, George Cary. Extract from "Recollections of a varied life." Ind. News, June 18, 1910, p. 15.
- Engleman, Joe. Succeeds Godfroy as chief of the Miamis. Muncie Press, Aug. 18, 1910, p. 4, c. 6.

- Evansville. Old-time bad men and brave men. *Evansville Courier*, Aug. 28, 1910, p. 20, c. 2.
- Emmanuel Lutheran church celebrates its fifty-fifth anniversary. *Evansville Courier*, Aug. 22, 1910, p. 8, c. 2.
- Sports of Evansville boys of long ago. *Evansville Courier*, Aug. 21, 1910, p. 17.
- Evansville women fight to save historic Burnes mansion. *Muncie Star*, Aug. 14, 1910, pt. 2, p. 3; *Ind. Star*, Aug. 14, 1910, mag. sec., p. 8.
- Godfroy, Gabriel. Death of. *South Bend Tribune*, Aug. 16, 1910, p. 7, c. 1; *Muncie Star*, Aug. 15, 1910, p. 1, c. 4; *Ind. Star*, Aug. 15, 1910, p. 1, c. 6; *Ind. News*, Aug. 15, 1910, p. 11, c. 3.
- G. A. R. Auten post will celebrate forty-fourth anniversary. Organization and charter members. *South Bend Tribune*, Aug. 20, 1910, p. 2, c. 1.
- Indiana—Description. Early days in Indiana; reminiscences of Mrs. Rachel A. Sparr. *Muncie Press*, July 12, 1910, p. 2, c. 6.
- Indianapolis. Development from stage coach station to aviation center. *Ind. News*, June 11, 1910, p. 15.
- Origin and development of Crown Hill cemetery. *Ind. News*, July 9, 1910, p. 3, c. 1.
- Life in the early days. *Ind. News*, July 23, 1910, p. 16, c. 1.
- Pioneer steam flour mill which failed for lack of fuel. *Ind. News*, June 4, 1910, p. 16, c. 3.
- Indians. Old Sally's village and the Indians of early Cass county days. *Muncie Star*, Aug. 1, 1910, p. 6, c. 1.
- Joe Engleman succeeds Godfroy as chief of the Miamis. *Muncie Press*, Aug. 18, 1910, p. 4, c. 6.
- Chieftainship of Miami tribe. *Muncie Press*, Aug. 18, 1910, p. 4, c. 6.
- Miamis will renew efforts to secure annuities said to be due from government. *Muncie Star*, Aug. 23, 1910, p. 2, c. 3; *Ind. Star*, Aug. 23, p. 5, c. 1.
- Irwin, Joseph I. Death of. *Muncie Star*, Aug. 14, 1910, p. 5, c. 5; *Ind. Star*, Aug. 14, p. 1, c. 4; *Ind. News*, Aug. 13, p. 1, c. 2.
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- Kil-so-qua. Story of granddaughter of Little Turtle. Plans for celebration of her 100th birthday. Ind. News, June 4, 1910, p. 14, c. 1.
- Celebration of 100th birthday. Ind. Star, July 5, 1910, p. 5, c. 3.
- Milroy, Robert H. Monument erected to him in Jasper county. Ind. News, July 14, 1910, p. 14, c. 3.
- Mother Theodore. May be canonized. Fort Wayne Journal-Gazette, July 28, 1910, p. 5, c. 2; Evansville Courier, July 26, 1910, p. 3, c. 3.
- Muncie. Main street fifty years ago. Muncie Press, June 16, 1910, p. 3, c. 6; June 27, p. 14, c. 1; July 25, p. 4, c. 6; Aug. 2, p. 7, c. 4.
- Kindergarten work in Muncie. Muncie Press, June 16, 1910, p. 4, c. 6.
- Jackson Street Christian Church celebrates forty-second anniversary. Muncie Press, June 27, 1910, p. 15.
- Muncie twenty years ago. Muncie Press, July 22, 1910, p. 5, c. 4.
- Reminiscences of county fairs held in early days. Muncie Press, Aug. 17, 1910, p. 6, c. 2; Aug. 18, 1910, p. 2, c. 2.
- History of the public library. Muncie Press, Aug. 18, 1910, p. 4, c. 3.
- Newspapers. Description of Muncie Press for April 1, 1866. Muncie Press, June 25, 1910, p. 5, c. 6.
- Description of State Sentinel for October 10, 1846. Muncie Press, July 2, 1910, p. 3, c. 6.
- Description of Delaware County Times for November 26, 1868. Muncie Press, July 8, 1910, p. 2, c. 1.
- New Harmony. Description and history of. Evansville Courier, July 3, 1910, p. 4, c. 1.
- First kindergarten in U. S. established there. Evansville Courier, July 24, 1910, p. 4, c. 1.

- Northwest territory. Story of pioneer life in the northwest territory. Ind. News, June 4, 1910, p. 18, c. 1.
- Posey county. How it came to have a Hooppole township. Ind. Star, June 26, 1910, mag. sec., p. 5.
- Princeton. 100th anniversary of founding of United Presbyterian church in Princeton. Ind. News, Aug. 27, 1910, p. 5, c. 3.
- Regimental histories. Historical sketch of 30th regiment. Fort Wayne Journal-Gazette, Aug. 24, 1910, p. 11, c. 3.
- Revolutionary soldiers. Tablet containing names of those buried in Putnam county is unveiled. Ind. Star, June 15, 1910, p. 5, c. 3.
- D. A. R. will mark graves of those buried in Grant county. Ind. News, Aug. 29, 1910, p. 16, c. 2.
- School fund. History of Indiana's school funds. Ind. News, Aug. 5, 1910, p. 18, c. 4.
- Slocum, Frances. Monument to her memory unveiled at Scranton, Pa. Ind. Star, June 19, 1910, p. 6, c. 2.
- South Bend. Growth of Methodist Episcopal church and prominent men in the work. South Bend Tribune, Aug. 20, 1910, p. 10, c. 1.
- Tecumseh. Said to have been buried on St. Anne's island. Bones exhumed. Muncie Press, July 30, 1910, p. 7, c. 1.
- Templeton, Leroy. Some reminiscences of. Terre Haute Star, Aug. 2, 1910, p. 1, c. 1; Muncie Star, Aug. 2, 1910, p. 1, c. 1; Ind. Star, Aug. 2, 1910, p. 1, c. 1.
- Terre Haute. Old log tavern gives way to modern building. Terre Haute Star, Aug. 5, 1910, p. 11, c. 1.
- Early days recalled by pioneer settler. Terre Haute Star, July 25, 1910, p. 5, c. 1.
- Wayne county. Death roll of old settlers within the last year. Richmond Palladium, Aug. 20, 1910, p. 4, c. 5.
- Y. M. C. A. First college Y. M. C. A. building was erected at Hanover. Terre Haute Star, June 26, 1910, p. 2, c. 5; Ind. Star, June 23, 1910, p. 4, c. 2.

INDIANA QUARTERLY MAGAZINE OF HISTORY

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CHRISTOPHER B. COLEMAN, *Editor*

EDITORIAL.

THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION, INDIANAPOLIS, DECEMBER 27-31, 1910.

The meeting of the national Historical Association in Indiana will be the most important event of this generation for all our organizations for the study and teaching of history. The American Historical Association comprises in its membership all the better known historical workers of this country and Canada. It also includes a large proportion of teachers of history in universities, colleges, high schools and grammar schools. Some four thousand persons are directly interested in its work. It is not too much to say that it is one of the most successful of the societies which are bringing America to the front, not only in industrial and commercial matters, but in scholarship and in contributions to the intellectual life of the world. In all of its activities the annual meeting is the central point. Committee conferences, decision upon lines of work, and public addresses make the meeting every year a notable event. The attendance ranges from three hundred to nearly a thousand. It is probable that we will have in Indianapolis at least four hundred of the leaders in historical interests.

Indiana must rise to this occasion. Our historical activities, though not discreditable, have not in the past been as great nor as successful as they should have been. This is the time to bestir ourselves. These are some of the things we should do:

1. Join the American Historical Association. Its membership is not limited to men of fame and distinction, but is open to any who are interested in history. The annual fee of three dollars entitles one to the valuable reports of the association and to the American Historical Review (quarterly), the importance and the interest of which to any historical student can not be overemphasized. The ed-

itor of this magazine will be glad to forward applications for membership to the proper officer.

2. Interest local and state officials in historical matters, so that we can secure their aid in getting appropriations which the law provides for county and state historical societies. Our state and local records have been shamefully neglected in the past, and it is time that we should awake to the necessity of developing our state and local libraries, and our historical collections, as is being done in other states.

3. Attend the meeting in Indianapolis, December 27-31, this year. It is the first time the American Historical Association has met in our state. Most of us have not had for years and could not have a more convenient meeting place for the association. This is the time to come, to see what it is like, and to get into touch with what is going on in historical circles. It will more than repay any expenditure of time and money. Come to Indianapolis on Tuesday, December 27. The headquarters will be in the Claypool Hotel.

NOTES.

A new "Elementary American History and Government," by Professor James A. Woodburn, of Indiana University, and Professor Thomas F. Moran, of Purdue University, has been issued by Longmans, Green and Company.

A paper on "William Clark, the Indian Agent," by Professor Harlow Lindley, of Earlham College, which appeared in the Proceedings of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association for the Year 1908-1909, has been reprinted in pamphlet form.

RECENT INDIANA HISTORICAL SOCIETY PUBLICATIONS

Volume IV, Number 4. Making a Capital in the Wilderness. Daniel Waite Howe.

Volume IV, Number 5. Names of Persons Enumerated in Marion County, Indiana, at the Fifth Census, 1830.

Volume IV, Number 6. Some Elements of Indiana's Population; or, Roads West and Their Early Travelers. W. E. Henry.

Volume IV, Number 7. Lockerbie's Assessment List of Indianapolis, 1835. Edited by Eliza G. Browning.

Volume IV, Number 8. The Scotch-Irish Presbyterians in Monroe County, Indiana. James A. Woodburn.

MAKING A CAPITAL IN THE WILDERNESS.

A story that barely misses being romantic is that of the making of Indiana's permanent capital. The act of Congress in 1816 granting the state which was then coming into full membership in the Union four sections of land, to be located under the direction of the legislature for the seat of government—that began the trouble. Then George Pogue, on March 2, 1819, and John McCormick, on February 27, 1820, according to what Judge Howe considers the best evidence, both of them unconscious of their future greatness, settled on the land marked by destiny for Indiana's capital. The General Assembly, on January 11, 1820, passed an act appointing commissioners to select and locate a site for "the permanent seat of the government." After viewing several locations, the commission, on June 7, 1820, decided upon the present site of Indianapolis. This report was approved, and the name Indianapolis given on the suggestion of Jeremiah Sullivan, of Jefferson county, in an act of January 6, 1821. The pay of John Tipton, one of the leading commissioners, was \$58—"not half what I could have made in my office. A very poor compensation," for locating a future capital, as he says in his journal. Settlers came in considerable numbers, and beginning October 10, 1821, lots were sold at boom prices. County government (Marion county) was organized under an act of December 21, 1821. In the fall of 1824 the state's funds and records were moved to Indianapolis, and in 1825 the legislature met there.

The details of these events and the early development of Indianapolis Judge Howe tells in an interesting and authoritative narrative of thirty-five pages. His account is based as far as possible on original sources and makes a valuable addition to our local history. It would be an excellent pamphlet for use in educational institutions, especially in the central part of the state.

NAMES OF PERSONS ENUMERATED IN MARION COUNTY, INDIANA, AT
THE FIFTH CENSUS, 1830.

This pamphlet of thirty pages is sufficiently explained by the title. The original returns of the population of Marion county in 1830, grouped by families under the names of the heads of the families, have been hitherto unpublished. The copying of the list was supervised by Mr. R. R. Bennett. The chief interest attaching to the paper is that the census of 1830 was the first taken after the organization of Marion county.

SOME ELEMENTS OF INDIANA'S POPULATION; OR, ROADS WEST AND
THEIR EARLY TRAVELERS.

The sub-title of this pamphlet is the better designation of its contents, for it is concerned almost wholly with a description of the routes from the East into the Mississippi valley. Mr. Henry is well known to students of Indiana history as the former efficient state librarian, now pursuing his vocation at the University of the State of Washington. This work is the outgrowth of a paper read before the Indianapolis Literary Club. It presents in an interesting way the geographical conditions which determined the course of the great trails over the Alleghany mountains. The author is inclined to accept the theory that they originated for the most part in old buffalo tracks, followed first by the Indians and then by the pioneers and settlers.

LOCKERBIE'S ASSESSMENT LIST OF INDIANAPOLIS, 1835.

George Lockerbie was assessor for the town of Indianapolis for the year 1835. He was of Scotch birth, moved to Germantown, Pennsylvania, in 1809, went to Lexington, Kentucky, after the war of 1812, but freed the slaves which he had there acquired, and in 1830 came to Indianapolis. He was a man of character and of more than ordinary ability and attainments. His assessment list gives not only the roll of persons, lands, town lots and chattels, but also a full census and notes on the occupancy of pieces of real estate. Miss Browning, librarian of the city library of Indianapolis, in editing this list and in prefacing it with a short sketch of Lock-

erbie himself, has put in permanent form very important material for local history.

A few of the totals made from the list are of general interest. The total valuation of lots is given as \$231,356; buildings, \$136,745; personal property, \$127,647; total assessed valuation, \$495,748; whole amount of tax, \$1,898. The totals of population are, males 859, females 743. This included a colored population of 81.

THE SCOTCH-IRISH PRESBYTERIANS OF MONROE COUNTY, INDIANA.

Professor James A. Woodburn, head of the department of American history, Indiana University, has not only been identified for many years with the State University at Bloomington, but comes of stock long associated with that town. In this brochure he gives a very scholarly, and at the same time interesting, account of an important element in its history. His account is not only a contribution to local history, but valuable also as a thorough study of a development typical of many other communities in the middle west.

The Scotch-Irish of Monroe county came both from the original Scotch-Irish settlements in Pennsylvania and from the southern extension of those settlements in the Carolinas, chiefly from the latter. Presbyterian churches of various types were established at Bloomington by Scotch-Irish settlers, beginning with the Reformed Presbyterian congregation in 1821. Of the people and their church life Professor Woodburn gives a sympathetic but judicious account. Those who are inclined to decry the recent immigrants from southern Europe for their crowded lodging houses may well read the following description (page 478) of pioneer conditions among our best ancestral stock. Two families of Scotch-Irish settlers "arrived in Bloomington on December 31, 1830—in the dead of winter—and for their first night they were taken into the home of Mr. Dorrance B. Woodburn, who had come from South Carolina but a few months before. The whole company that night, counting Mr. Woodburn's family of twelve, numbered forty adults and children. Presumably they must have slept twelve or fourteen in a room, and mostly on the floor. People lived the simple life in those days, and their hospitality was simplicity itself. Guests did not have their dinners in courses nor their bedrooms in suites; they lived in log cabins, and they climbed by a common ladder to the lofts, sleeping

in small bedrooms whose furniture consisted chiefly of beds." After mentioning a number of cases in which church members and even elders were disciplined for drunkenness, Professor Woodburn makes the interesting confession: "I shall not mention further names, as that would be to mention the ancestral names of people now highly respected and honored in this community."

The truth is that poverty and migration involve hardships which inevitably mean the loss of many of the refinements and restraints to which longer settled peoples attach importance. The hardier virtues, courage, self-reliance, determination, are fostered by immigration into a new country, but breadth of view, tolerance, culture, temperance and self-restraint wait on the coming of later generations and an easier life. The commonest failing of our pioneer days was intemperance in spiritous liquors. To this the Scotch-Irish Presbyterians of our review added intemperance in theological controversy.

To mention these things, however, is perhaps misleading, for they are inevitably exaggerated. No greater race of men entered into the making of the American nation than the Scotch-Irish. They were conservative, yet adventurous and enterprising; they were inured to hardship, yet not embittered; they were industrious and thrifty, yet not worldly. Pious, God-fearing people, more than any others, they made the Mississippi valley what it is to-day, the heart of a great nation.

C. B. COLEMAN.

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DUTY OF THE STATE TO ITS HISTORY.

BY JACOB PIATT DUNN.

[A paper read before the Indiana Historical Society and the Civic Improvement Committee of the Commercial Club of Indianapolis, December 9, 1910.]

TACITUS said, "This I hold to be the chief office of history, to rescue virtuous actions from the oblivion to which a want of records would consign them, and that men should feel a dread of being considered infamous in the opinions of posterity from their depraved expressions and base actions."

Tacitus lived in a day of absolute monarchy, when the all-important thing for good government was to have a good ruler, and a king or an emperor who was reasonably decent was hailed as a blessing to the commonwealth. It was indeed desirable that the ruler should be inspired by the belief that his good deeds would be recorded, and praised by future generations, and that his evil deeds would be held in execration. In reality, the expression of Tacitus is equivalent to a declaration that the chief use of history is to promote good government, which was true at his time, and is equally true now, but in a different way. We have passed, to a large extent, from the era of monarchical rule, and have come to a period when the people make such provision for their own rule as they deem desirable. Of necessity, this course is largely experimental. Many measures are tried that are failures, and many produce results that are not anticipated. Now, history in our times is the record of progress in civilization and government. It is the record of the experience of the state, and a state should profit by its experience just as an individual does. But there is this difference: An individual carries the memory of his experience with him, while the governing powers of a state are frequently changed, and the experience of one genera-

tion is lost to following ones, unless it be recorded in some permanent way.

This use of history, especially in this country of ours, I take to be the chief use, but it by no means excludes other uses. Even the use regarded as most important by Tacitus still remains. It is important that our officials should understand that their acts will be recorded, both the good and the bad, and that they will go down to posterity with the records they have made; for good rulers and bad rulers are still efficient to promote or retard the welfare of the public, although they are elected as public servants, and for comparatively short terms. It is also important that each rising generation should know what its predecessors did, in order to hand down the goodly heritage of civilization and government that comes to their hands. It is important that each generation should realize that it is but—

“A link among the years to knit
The generations each to each.”

It is important that each generation should know of the steps by which their ancestors developed the arts and sciences and industries which have become a part of their daily lives and the means of their livelihood. But principally, at present, I would call your attention to the governmental uses of history, for therein the duty of the state is most obvious and most convincing.

It is most singular how fully the average official feels the importance of preserving his own official record, and how little he feels it as to the records of others. I venture the assertion that no one here ever knew an executive official who did not feel that his own reports should be published and carefully preserved; no one here ever knew a member of a legislative body who did not feel that the record of that body ought to be published and preserved. And yet, when it came to the application of the Golden Rule as to the records of others, how different the feeling. The Legislature of Indiana very early provided for the circulation of the laws and the legislative journals, and it contemplated their preservation. When the township library system was instituted it provided for copies for each library, but subsequent Legislatures let the township libraries die, and

the county officials, as a rule, took no care of the copies sent to the counties. As a result of this, when the historical revival began in this State, some twenty-five years ago, the State itself did not own complete sets of its own laws, or House, Senate and Documentary Journals.

Judge D. W. Howe was the pioneer in the work of rehabilitation. His attention was first called to the laws, and he aided in preparing the republication, in 1886, of the territorial laws from 1801 to 1806, including the laws of the Governor and Judges and of the first and second sessions of the Territorial Legislature. At that time the only known printed copy of the laws of the Governor and Judges was owned by Hon. John Stotsenburg, of New Albany, and the only known copy of the laws of the second session of the Legislature was owned by the Massachusetts State Library. In the same year the Indiana Historical Society was revived and reorganized, and Judge Howe's "Laws and Courts of the Northwest and Indiana Territories" was its first publication. He next turned his attention to the Senate, House and Documentary Journals, and in 1890 published his invaluable "Descriptive Catalogue of the Official Publications of the Territory and State of Indiana," which first gave the public a reliable list of these publications. When Mrs. Scott was State Librarian, the writer made a special effort to fill the sets of these publications, and went to the county seats of thirty-eight counties in the attempt to get full sets of the Senate, House and Documentary Journals for the State Library, the City Library and the Indiana Historical Society. The Documentary Journals, which began in 1835, were secured, but some of the early Senate and House Journals are still lacking. But the effort to build up the State Library as a local historical library has been kept up ever since, especially under Mr. Henry and Professor Brown; and we now have a very creditable collection of local historical material.

But to return to documents. The city of Indianapolis has been publishing its Council Proceedings since 1863, and yet it was only by extended effort that I succeeded in making up a set of them for the State Library, and all but one for the City Library. When Mr. George Merrill removed to California, his copy of the missing volume was given to the City Library, and its set was made full.

One of the most potent causes of this disappearance of documents is the lack of a place to keep them. You would suppose there was room in our court-house, and there is, with proper care; but a large part of the original records of this county are bundled into what is called "the bum room," in hopeless confusion, and so covered with soot and dust that it takes a bold man to look for anything. When John R. Wilson was clerk he got some shelving put in, and put them in order, but since then they have again fallen into a disgraceful state. The usual condition in the court-houses of the State is as bad or worse. You would think there would be room in our State House, but it is very much overcrowded, and there are quantities of original papers piled in the basement in hopeless confusion; while the State Library is badly crowded, after utilizing all available space, and especially in its storage facilities. In fact, this has been the case as to the latter for a number of years past. When I was State Librarian I was also engaged in an effort to revive the township libraries. When they were started, provision was made for supplying each of them with the laws and journals. After they had gone to pieces the same number of documents continued to be printed, but everybody had forgotten what they were for, and the most of them usually went for waste paper. I decided to keep them for the township libraries when they should be restored, and had them boxed and stored in the basement. In the course of years they filled the room, and imagine my astonishment on learning that State Librarian Henry had got a law passed authorizing him to retain one hundred copies of each and dispose of the rest, and the great mass of them had gone to the paper mills. In passing, I would mention that the chief cause of the destruction of the township libraries was the lack of places to keep them. They were simply put in custody of the township trustee, and he put them in his cellar or his barn or anywhere else that was convenient, and, as a rule, they received about as much care as would be given to an orphan apprentice. This is one part of our history that we are now profiting by, and the libraries that have been started in the last dozen years are supplied with permanent and usually adequate buildings, at least for the time being.

Fortunately, we are arriving at a period in this country when there is some appreciation of the importance of profiting by experience in

legislation, and history is simply the record of experience—or the truth of experience unrecorded. As Carlyle puts it, "History is the wisdom of events." There is no more notable example of profiting by experience than the Common Law, for it is in fact a crystallization of experience—of customs developed by experience, and gradually added to by judges, without the delay of law-making, as new cases arose that called for the development of existing principles. It is true that the reasons of some of its rules have almost been lost in the haze of antiquity, and the reasons for some of them may have wholly disappeared in the changes of a developing civilization, but it is safe to assume that all of them were based on sound reason at the time of their adoption, and that the reason was founded in experience. But of statutory law there is a vast amount that is founded on neither experience nor reason; and there is no valid excuse for it. In this country the several States are so similar that the experience of one is practically the experience of all, and yet there have been numerous examples of foolish laws enacted in one State, tried and found failures; and then the same laws enacted in other States, with the same results, and sometimes actually re-enacted in the same State. Fourteen years ago, at the supper for the American Economic Association, in this building, I urged the importance of a more careful study of comparative legislation, especially in preparation for economic measures; and the most encouraging feature of legislative work to-day is the movement in that direction. New York led off with the compilation and publication of a digest of the current legislation of all the States; and this has been followed by the institution of legislative reference departments in a number of the State libraries, whose special function is to supply legislators with all sorts of information concerning desired measures. Young as it is, I believe it is safe to say that the most important branch of legislative work in this country to-day is this legislative reference work. It is preventing more hasty and ill-advised legislation than any one agency I know of, by furnishing legislators with the available records of experience and the best thought on various subjects.

There is, however, one weak spot in it. However competent a reference librarian may be, he can not know everything; and when entirely new legislation comes up he usually lacks material for it, be-

cause the real material is in a broader field of history than he deals with. The English are in a much better condition as to new legislation than we are, because, as an incident of cabinet government, whenever the administration desires to introduce a reform measure, it appoints a commission to study and investigate the question, and to learn, if possible, the real causes of the evil desired to be remedied. And in this it does not, as is usually done in this country, appoint a commission of partisans whose minds are made up to begin with, and who devote their efforts to bolstering up their preconceived ideas. It appoints men of differing views, who take evidence on all sides and try to get at the actual facts. The results of this are almost startling. I know of no more useful book on legislation than Richardson's "The Health of Nations," which is practically a summarization of the life and writings of Edwin Chadwick—the man who served on more of these British commissions than any other man, and who attained a reputation for legislative wisdom without precedent. In regard to this commission work, Mr. Chadwick makes the astounding statement (p. 127) that he never knew any one investigation "which did not reverse every main principle, and almost every assumed chief elementary fact, on which the general public, parliamentary committees, politicians of high position, and often the commissioners themselves, were prepared to base legislation."

This seems almost incredible, but the reason of it is simple when you reflect on it. For any evil there is usually suggested to most men some simple and seeming obvious remedy; but when you come to a chronic evil it is practically certain that there is no simple and obvious remedy for it, because if there were it would have been applied long ago. Such evils are like diseases of the blood, which the ignorant seek to cure by applying salves and lotions to the skin, but which still remain till wise men seek out the causes of the disease and devise the "606" that cures them by removing the causes.

Now, what was it that these English commissions learned by their investigations? Simply the facts—the actual experience of the public—the history of the evil. It is just like a physician diagnosing a case, in which he acquaints himself with the personal history of his patient for a greater or less period, in order to account for the symptoms then presenting themselves. If you want intelligent legisla-

tion you must first find out just what is wrong, and then devise the remedy for that wrong.

In conclusion, we come back to the axiomatic principle—or principle which should be axiomatic—that a state that does not profit by its own experience is as foolish as an individual who does not profit by his own experience; and a state can not possibly profit fully by its experience unless it provides for handing it down from one generation to another by the preservation of its history.

THE FIRST INDIANA BANKS.

BY LOGAN ESARY,
Winona College.

THERE was very little specie or paper in circulation in Indiana before its admission in 1816. The period from 1807 to 1816 was the worst era in our history for wildcat banking. So great was the prejudice of the Western Democrats against a national bank, however, that they would rather endure all the evils of a private bank system than see a national currency circulated by one strong bank. Paper money at this time ranged in value all the way from the notes of the Massachusetts banks, worth 20 per cent. above national treasury notes, to the counterfeits that deluged the country.

A Western bank in these early days was a very simple affair. Any man inclined to start a bank hired an engraving company to print him a few thousand bills, and then opened an office in some convenient town. Since these banks rarely received deposits and only served the one function, a place to discount notes, they were opened usually one day in the week or two half days—either all day on Saturday, or Tuesday and Saturday afternoons. If business prospered and the banker floated much of his money at a fair price, he remained. If the situation did not prove favorable, he packed his capital in his grip and sought a more favorable spot. This might be called the Nomadic Age of banking. The earliest Indiana banks, at Brookville and New Harmony, were of this kind.

However, the Territorial Legislature, sitting at Corydon, in the summer of 1814 chartered two banks. [Acts of Indiana Territory, 1814, p. 95.] On Monday, August 21, 1814, William Polk, representing Knox county, laid before the House a petition, signed by Nathaniel Ewing and others, praying for a charter to establish a bank at Vincennes. The petition was read and referred to a committee of three—Polk, Ferris and Clark. On the same afternoon Mr. Polk reported a bill for a bank. This was read the first time that same evening, and the second time next day, Tuesday. It was at once referred to a committee of the whole, and made the order of the day for Wednesday. On Thursday amendments were called

for, and on Friday it was placed on its passage. [See MSS. of record of Territorial Legislature in office of Secretary of State, Indianapolis.] Three days after this bill was introduced, Mr. Brown asked the Legislature to charter a similar bank for Madison, Indiana. This bank was to be known as the Farmers' and Mechanics' Bank of Madison. These two charters were alike, were to run twenty years, and by special amendment the banks were not to dissolve until they had redeemed all their notes and paid all their debts. The incorporators further agreed to wind up their affairs at once after the expiration of their charter.

Though these two territorial banks started under like charters and similar circumstances, their later careers were very unlike. The Farmers' and Mechanics' Bank, at Madison, was organized by John Paul, John Ritchie, Christopher Harrison, Henry Ristine, N. Hurst and D. Blackmore. John Paul was chosen president and John Sering cashier. The charter was signed by William Hendricks, speaker, and Jesse L. Holman, president of the council. The bank had the right under its charter to issue notes payable on demand in silver or gold. The capital stock was not to exceed \$750,000. The territorial government reserved the right to locate a branch bank at Vincennes, with a capital of \$125,000, one-half of which the Territory might subscribe. The bank agreed to loan the government \$5,000 to pay officers' salaries, and to advance any sum the territorial government might need in anticipation of taxes. The rate of interest was not to exceed 6 per cent. on any money lent by the bank.

The town of Madison was small at this time, not having over seven or eight hundred inhabitants. The trade was correspondingly limited, the stores handling such goods as are usually kept in large country stores. For the purpose of making change and aiding in exchange generally, all merchants issued "shinplasters" of the denomination of 50, 25, 12½ and 6¼ cents. These were redeemed in banknotes of the Commonwealth Bank of Kentucky, if presented at the Farmers' and Mechanics' Bank in sums of \$1.00 or more. The bank furnished valuable aid to the farmers of Jefferson and adjoining counties in making payments on their land.

The Madison Bank used the old brick building, standing on the east side of Main street, pretty well up from the river. [Elvin's Scrap Book, p. 68, copied from *Madison Free Press*.] Its notes

were received at the United States government Land Office for many years, and were rated highest of all in the Northwest except notes of the Commonwealth Bank of Kentucky, until notes of the second United States Bank came into circulation.

The bank had a branch at Lexington, in Scott county, which was a town then almost as large as Madison. The Madison Bank was closed in 1822 or 1823 by J. F. D. Lanier and Milton Stapp, after meeting in an honorable way all its obligations and fulfilling all the conditions of its charter.

By the time Indiana became a State there were several banks in it. It was thought undemocratic to limit banks in any way by law, yet in a law of 1815 some restrictions were made. [Samuel Judah, Report on Private Banks, H. R. Journal, 1839.] This measure is entitled "An Act to Prevent Swindling." It required banks to publish the names of stockholders rather than just the firm name. The law was intended for a banking firm operating at New Lexington and thought to be swindlers. Another private bank, in which Noah Noble and other members of the Legislature were interested, was located at Brookville. The Steam Mill Company, Judge Benjamin Parke, president, at Vincennes, also was a bank of issue.

The State constitution recognized both the Vincennes and the Madison banks. A later law, passed January 1, 1817, at the first session of the State Legislature, elaborated the Vincennes Bank into a State institution, to have fourteen branches scattered over the State. [Laws of Indiana, 1816-'17, p. 175.] Neither the article in the State constitution nor the act of January 1, 1817, gave the bank any new powers. They only recognized its charter and increased its capital stock. There was no limit to its power to issue paper money placed in the charter. One of the main objects of the institution, though, was to make a profit by issuing bank-notes, and the plain design of the whole charter and of several provisions in particular was that it should not issue more paper than it could redeem. Its total debt was not to exceed twice its deposits, and its directors were made liable for such excess in a common-law action for debt. The charter was to last twenty-one years.

The capital stock of the bank was increased from \$500,000 to \$1,500,000, of which \$375,000 might be subscribed by the State as soon as the Governor thought advisable. The intention of the in-

corporators was to acquire a complete monopoly of the banking business of the State. The first branch, with a capital stock of \$20,000, was to be organized by Joseph Pegg, Aaron Martin and John Sprow, at Centerville. The organizing board for the second branch was William H. Eads, Robert John and John Jacobs, and it was to be located at Brookville and have a capital stock of \$35,000. Isaac Dunn, John Gray and David Rees were appointed to open the third branch at Lawrenceburg, with a capital stock of \$35,000. At Vevay, John Gilliland, Lawrence Nichol and Daniel Dufour were to organize the fourth, with a capital stock of \$20,000. David H. Maxwell, John Sering and Alex. A. Meek were selected to open the fifth at Madison, with \$30,000 capital stock. At Charleston, James Scott, Evan Shelby and A. P. Hay were to accept subscriptions of \$35,000 for the sixth branch. The seventh was to be situated at Brownstown, under supervision of John Ketchem, Alex. C. Craig and John McCormick. They were authorized to raise \$10,000 for this branch. Paoli was to have the eighth branch, with \$10,000 capital stock. The Legislature intrusted its organization to John G. Clendennin, William Lindley and Thomas Fulton. Marston G. Clark, John Lyon and Samuel Craig were to organize the ninth branch at Salem, with \$30,000 stock. Corydon had the tenth, with \$35,000 capital stock, in the hands of Allen D. Thom, David Craig and Milo R. Davis. Brownstown, Paoli, Salem and Corydon were in adjoining counties and were only about fifteen miles apart. The eleventh was to be at Troy, in Perry county. John Stephenson, Solomon Lamb and Thomas Morton were to organize it, with \$10,000 capital stock. At Darlington, then one of the promising towns of the southwestern corner of the State, a branch was to be opened by Daniel Grass, Hugh McGary and Ratliff Boon, with a capital stock of \$10,000. Fred Rapp, Thomas E. Castlebury and Thomas Gibson, and William Prince, Robert M. Evans and James Jones were to organize the thirteenth and fourteenth branches in Posey and Gibson counties, respectively, each with a capital stock of \$10,000.

Books were to be opened at each place by the board of commissioners on the first day of April, 1817. Each bank was to accommodate three counties, and none but residents of these three counties were to be allowed to subscribe for stock. There would still remain \$325,000, which the directors were to place to the best advantage.

All the banks were constituent parts of the parent bank at Vincennes. Each bank should have eleven directors chosen by the bank and three chosen by the State. A monthly statement was to be made to the Governor and an annual report to the Legislature, showing capital stock, debts, deposits, notes in circulation and specie on hand. Six per cent. was to be the rate of discount. The State might borrow a maximum of \$50,000, but no director could borrow over \$5,000 or be security for more than \$10,000.

The plan seemed to be comprehensive, but for some reason it did not gain the confidence of the people. It was provided that the Farmers' and Mechanics' Bank of Madison should become a part of the State Bank, but its officers and stockholders refused. The list of stockholders of the State Bank included enough of the politicians of the State to control the Legislature at any time. They were sure of the patronage of the State, and nearly all of the United States officers from the State were interested financially, many officially. Stock subscription came in slowly, and all the branches but three failed to organize. The best field for banking in the State was then fully occupied by the Farmers' and Mechanics' Bank in Madison. There was little money in the State. Ninety out of every hundred men were farmers, and intent only on meeting the payments on their homesteads. Banks were of little use in this, since the government gave liberal time to its customers. In some cases, as in the thirteenth and fourteenth districts, there were not even villages in which to establish banks; while Troy, where Anderson joins the Ohio; Darlington, on Pigeon creek; Paoli, Charleston and Brownstown were little, struggling villages, without commercial enterprise of any kind. With scarcely seventy-five thousand people, it was attempted to organize fifteen banks in one day and float among them bank stock, all told, to the amount of \$2,225,000, an average of about \$30 per capita.

Branch banks were finally organized at Brookville, Corydon and Vevay. From the beginning there was opposition to the system. The leader in this criticism was Elihu Stout, editor of the *Western Sun*, of Vincennes. The cause of the bank was as warmly supported by Editor Wiseman, of the *Centinel*, also of Vincennes. Wiseman was an officer of the bank, and hence had the better of Stout as far as authentic information was concerned. In general, what was

called the aristocratic party of Vincennes, Corydon and Brookville controlled the bank. What later became the Jacksonian Democracy opposed it. [O. H. Smith's Recollections, p. 84.] James Noble, Jonathan Jennings and William Hendricks were the political owners of the State and distributed its offices at will. During two years there was little said about the banks except at election times. [*Centinel*, June 5 and December 18.] Semi-annual dividends of 8 per cent. on all stocks were paid in 1819; the first was declared by the directors in June, the second December 18. The notes of the parent bank were accepted at the United States Land Office. But opposition was gradually gaining force and assuming definition. It was charged [*Western Sun*, July 1, 1820] that the State, through the aid of the Governor, had been "worked" by the bank for \$10,000 in the Jeffersonville canal affair, by depositing that amount of specie and accepting bank paper; and this at a time when there was not enough cash in the State treasury to pay the State officers.

At the fourth session of the State Legislature a resolution was offered by General Samuel Milroy, calling for a thorough investigation of the bank, but the resolution failed. [*Centinel*, July 15, 1820.] Those who opposed the measure were charged with being agents of the bank. One of the Representatives so charged, Thomas H. Blake, representing Knox county, gave as his reasons for not supporting the measure that this was the duty of the Governor under the law; that the State had lived off the bank and then owed it \$30,000, and that the legislators had to depend on the bank for their own pay. He had voted against Representative John H. Thompson's bill requiring the bank to pay specie or forfeit its charter, because no other Western banks were paying specie. However true these reasons may have been, the people continued to complain that the banks made hard times and they refused to re-elect Mr. Blake to the Legislature. The murmuring against banks was heard throughout the Western States as well as in the South and East. [*Western Sun*, August 19, 1820.] Worse charges than these were appearing against the Vincennes Bank. Its integrity was being questioned. Nearly all its loans were said to be to its directors and political supporters. Many of these loans were more than questionable from a financial standpoint. [*Western Sun*, July 28, 1820.] It would not issue any of its own notes, but dealt entirely in those of its shaky branches.

Some of these notes were said to be unsigned, some were time notes, to be paid only after two years from issue. Some were issued outright to the "Steam Mill." These notes were not redeemed anywhere. The best that the holder could do was to exchange them for notes of other branches. Agents of the Vincennes Bank were said to be stationed in the towns along the eastern line of the State to exchange these branch bank notes for Eastern paper money or specie. Then, to get money receivable at the land offices, this depreciated paper had to be discounted heavily. The Vincennes Bank was one of the worst of these note shavers.

The law required the parent bank to redeem its paper in specie. This it attempted to do in a novel way. [*Western Sun*, August 26, 1820.] The report of 1820 shows that the branches had issued notes to the amount of \$167,158, while the parent bank had only \$13,000 in notes outstanding. These were of large denomination, few under \$75, and hence not in circulation. Over half the circulation was issued through the Brookville branch, and exchanged for specie and Eastern bank paper brought in by the settlers. For this reason every settler became the inevitable enemy of the banks. The United States land offices ruled the Western banks. There was published weekly a list of banks whose notes were accepted by the agent. The one printed in the *Western Sun* for October 7, 1820, by the agent, J. C. S. Harrison, is a fair example: All Boston banks, five New York banks, eight Philadelphia banks, eight Baltimore banks, Columbia Bank at Washington, D. C., Union Bank of Georgetown, eight other District of Columbia banks, Farmers' and Merchants' Bank of Madison, Ind., Vincennes bank-notes over \$75.

The newspapers circulated among a very small number of people, and many a prospective settler saw his resources divided in the middle by the note-shaver when he went to buy land. The Vincennes Bank was a repository for United States money, and the receiver of public moneys usually an officer of the bank. [*Western Sun*, November 4, 1820.] As soon as the specie was collected it was deposited in the bank and used again to shave branch bank-notes.

The State election of 1820 was contested on the bank and currency questions. Shall the bank be made to redeem its own notes? Shall shaving go on? [*Western Sun*, December 16, 1820.] Few friends of the bank were returned. Over one-third of the members were

new. The new session convened November 27, 1820, and the question of the bank was taken up. In the meantime a letter appeared in the *Western Sun* stating that the parent bank was on the brink of ruin. Its outstanding debts were given at \$230,000, with resources of \$105,000. The letter was represented as coming from Corydon, but no one knew the author. All the editor would say was that his information was most reliable. It was known that the government deposits were in specie and would have to be paid first.

The letter at first caused surprise and then fear. People did not then keep money in bank, as now, so there was not a run on the bank; but they felt uneasy lest the notes of the bank and its branches should become worthless. The value of the notes was in direct proportion to the soundness of the bank. In answer to the *Sun's* letter the *Centinel* printed the last report of the cashier of the Vincennes Bank. This showed [*Centinel*, December 23, 1820.] :

Debts owed by the bank.....	\$243,898
Resources:	
Individual loans.....	\$228,000
Specie	33,000
Currency of other banks.....	26,000
Deposited with other banks.....	17,000
Total	\$304,000

This showed a balance of \$61,000 in the bank's favor. The *Sun's* article was passed up as political gossip, not worthy of notice unless in court, where the editor should be arraigned for libel.

Everybody waited with anxiety to see the forthcoming report to the Legislature. In a few days this appeared, but brought little assurance. It showed [*Western Sun*, December 23, 1820.] :

Notes discounted.....	\$128,000
Loans to individuals.....	29,000
Specie	33,000

Besides a few other small items. On the other side of the account were [*Western Sun*, January 27, 1821.] :

Notes in circulation.....	\$ 13,000
Branch notes in circulation.....	167,000
United States deposits.....	215,357

Elias Boudinot was cashier, Nathaniel Ewing president, and Judge Benjamin Parke agent. The report showed the bank to be on the edge of bankruptcy, and before the people could realize it the crash came. On Tuesday, January 2, 1821, the bank suspended specie payment. [*Western Sun*, January 6, 1821.] Following close on this announcement came a similar one, that the Bank of Kentucky had failed, with \$923,000 on deposit and \$1,833,000 notes in circulation. To meet these liabilities it had less than \$700,000 in resources.

Meanwhile Governor Jennings was asked by the Legislature to make personal investigation of the Indiana Bank, but found convenient excuses in the rush of business connected with his office, and also on account of the difficulty of travel. [*Western Sun*, January 20, 1821.] An investigating committee of the Legislature reported that Governor Jennings had placed \$5,000 of the 3 per cent. fund intended for the Jeffersonville canal in the bank at Corydon, and it was probably lost. Otherwise the report was very favorable, so far as the Corydon branch was concerned. Only one fact was suspicious—that Benjamin Parke, United States circuit judge for the Indiana district, and also agent for the "Steam Mill," had arranged to borrow \$10,000 from the Vincennes Bank and credit the loan to the Corydon branch. It seems that when State Treasurer Lane visited Vincennes in March, 1820, to pay interest on the State's loan, he, Lane, had made arrangements for the loan to the "Steam Mill," but later denied all knowledge of, or consent to, the deal. At any rate, the parent bank was notified that its custom of issuing notes on the Corydon branch must cease, and that branch at once began to reduce its circulation.

The Legislature either could not or would not help the situation. [House Journal, 1820-'21, p. 16.] On January 6, 1821, it elected Abijah Bayless, Benjamin V. Beckes and Marston G. Clark directors on the part of the State. A committee composed of Enoch D. John, of Franklin county; E. Powell, of Dearborn; Joseph Holman, of Wayne; Samuel Merrill, of Switzerland, and Charles I. Battell, of Posey, spent the time of the session in the investigation of banks, but no report was given. [House Journal, 1820-'21, p. 229.] The Legislature passed an act placing a 5 per cent. tax on irredeemable currency. A bill making it a crime to falsify bank records failed. [House Journal, 1820-'21.] A bill to prohibit issue of irredeemable

currency was lost. A bill empowering the Governor to borrow \$1,800 from the bank, to pay interest, was also lost January 2, 1821.

A notice was posted on the bank door at Vincennes, on February 3, 1821, calling a meeting of the stockholders for February 5, to examine the bank with a view to protecting depositors and stockholders, and to discuss surrendering its charter. [*Western Sun*, February 3, 1821.] This notice was signed by the stockholders, the leading men of the borough:

Arthur Patterson, G. R. C. Sullivan, John C. Reily, William Burtch, Robert Elliott, G. W. Johnson, S. P. Striker, John McDonald, Daniel McClure, William Polk, Samuel Tomlinson, Charles McClure.

At the meeting a new board of directors was chosen, as follows [*Western Sun*, March 24, 1821.]: David Brown, John D. Hay, Arthur Patterson, Nathaniel Ewing, Robert Buntin, Wilson Lagow, Dr. E. McNamee, William Burtch, George Ewing, Samuel Tomlinson, William E. Breeding, Fred Rapp. David Brown was made president. A committee of three was selected to examine the bank. This committee was soon discharged, and another—Robert Buntin, Arthur Patterson and Samuel Tomlinson—appointed in their stead, with notice to make a complete report on the condition of the bank May 5. [*Western Sun*, March 31, 1821.]

In the meantime, on the dark and windy night of February 10, the people of Vincennes were awakened by a light in the north part of town. [*Centinel*, February 17, 1821.] Some one had set fire to the "Steam Mill," and when morning came the chief source of pride and jealousy in Vincennes was in ashes.

The cashier of the bank, E. Boudinot, resigned in May. [*Western Sun*, June 2, 1821. *Centinel*, June 2, 1821.] He was succeeded by Valentine Bradley, who served till October, and was succeeded by Samuel Jacobs, the cashier of the Brookville branch. Jacobs gave up the job at once and was followed by Carter Beamon. The pretended investigation went on from week to week, and the impatient stockholders became more impatient. May 31 they were astonished by the announcement that the directors had voted a 10 per cent. dividend for the last six months on all paid-up stock, and this at a time when the bank was an acknowledged bankrupt. [*Western Sun*, June 16, 1821.] The sentiment of the people was well expressed by Richard

Daniel at a banquet given in honor of General Harrison, who was then visiting the "Old Post." He proposed this toast: "The State Bank of Indiana, more corruption than money." [*Western Sun*, June 23, 1821.]

At the June meeting of the directors, President Brown informed the stockholders that the bank was insolvent. He further reported that the chief cause of the failure of the bank was its close alliance with the "Steam Mill" venture. The promoters of this concern, one of the first of its kind in Indiana, were the officers of the bank, and had embezzled its funds to the amount of \$91,000. A committee at once waited on the Steam Mill Company to see if they could pay any part of their debt. Judge Parke promised to turn over all his property to the bank. He owed, he said, only a few other debts. Other members of the Steam Mill Company, and nearly all were stockholders of the bank, gave no assurance. Mr. Parke assured them that if the debt was nearly as much as represented, the Steam Mill Company could never pay it. It was then resolved to close up the affairs of the bank as rapidly as possible. Those owing the bank were allowed to surrender their stock, if they had any, and receive a corresponding credit on their indebtedness; in other words, the worthless stock was cashed at par with other people's money. It was further resolved not to jeopardize business by calling in loans too rapidly, and it was ordered that not more than 12 per cent. be collected annually. The president, Nathaniel Ewing, and cashier, Elias Boudinot, were censured for betraying the bank by drawing false bills of exchange on members of the Steam Mill Company. Lastly, it was agreed to compromise with creditors and thus save the directors from loss.

This report was first printed in the *Louisville Public Advertiser*, and for that reason the failure was known in the eastern part of the State before it was in Vincennes. [*Western Sun*, July 28, 1821.]

The Corydon branch at once took measures to protect itself. A meeting of its officers was called April 27, 1821. D. C. Lane, State treasurer, was president. Joseph Merrill, Davis Floyd, John Tipton, R. C. Boone and Dennis Pennington were some of its directors. They protested against the parent bank issuing any more notes on them. [*Western Sun*, June 20, 1821.]

Realizing that the State was involved, Governor Jennings called an

extraordinary session of the Legislature, to meet early in November. [Senate Journal, 1821, pp. 11, 147.] The State had borrowed \$20,000 from the bank, for which the bank held bonds. Expecting to pay this debt from current revenues, the State had accepted bank-notes in payment of taxes. The Governor was now unable to pay principal or interest, or any other expenses of the State, with the money in the treasury. [Senate Journal, 1821-'22, November 28.] The Madison Bank refused the Governor a loan on the basis of the 3 per cent. fund; in fact, that bank was now about to go out of business. [*Western Sun*, December 1, 1821.]

In obedience to a joint resolution of the Legislature, passed December, 1821 [*Western Sun*, December 29, 1821], D. C. Lane, State treasurer, reported that he had tendered the branch bank at Vevay \$7,081 on December 20; on the 22d he had tendered the branch at Brookville \$12,216; on the 27th he had tendered \$448 to the Corydon Bank, and two days later he had offered the latter \$1,455 more. [Senate Journal, 1821, p. 147.] In all, he had tendered \$21,200, and the bank had refused it. This was offered in the bank's own paper. A short time afterward Treasurer Lane went to Vincennes and counted down to the cashier of the Vincennes Bank \$10,000 in its own currency, and asked for State's bonds in equal amounts. The cashier answered that the State owed the bank nothing and that the bank had none of the State's bonds. He had already turned these over to the Secretary of the Treasury of the United States, W. H. Crawford, as collateral security.

Before the Legislature adjourned in 1821, it ordered the circuit court of Knox county to issue a *quo warranto* writ against the bank. [*Western Sun*, January 19, 1822.]

At a meeting of the directors, early in the year 1822, a dividend of 40 per cent. was voted, and also \$3,500 to Nathaniel Ewing for service as president. [*Western Sun*, March 16, 1822.]

As soon as the United States Secretary of the Treasury learned that the bank was insolvent, he sent an agent, who met the board of directors and made arrangements for payment of debts due the United States. [United States State Papers, 2d session 17th Congress, Vol. 5.] The directors turned over what securities they had at hand, and also the real estate belonging to the bank. The deed to this latter was so imperfectly executed that it took a suit in the Su-

preme Court to ascertain whether they had actually made the transfer or not.

Among other securities given to the United States government were bonds of the State aggregating \$32,750. As soon as Governor Jennings learned that the State bonds had come into the hands of the United States government he protested to the Secretary of the Treasury. Not receiving any answer, Governor Jennings called a special session of the Legislature to advise him what to do in the matter. The State had received near \$30,000 in bank currency, which was worthless if not credited on the State's bonds.

On March 2, 1822, the Secretary of the Treasury returned these bonds to the Vincennes Bank, to be redeemed in the worthless paper the State had received for taxes. [*Western Sun*, April 6, 1822.] All the affairs between the State and the federal government were amicably settled, and the tax-payers of the State were saved about \$30,000, a full year's taxes. [State Papers, as above.]

The report of the bank to the Governor for January, 1822, is interesting. The capital stock of all the branches was \$129,363; \$30,000 each for the branches and \$39,000 for Vincennes. Vincennes had \$30 in specie and \$3,218 in other currency. The debts owing to it totaled \$184,733, of which the "Steam Mill" owed \$116,248, and different directors \$17,333. On its board of directors at the time were Davis Brown, postmaster and a member of the Legislature; Wilson Lagow; Nathaniel Ewing, president of the bank, United States pension agent for the State, and agent for the "Steam Mill;" John D. Hay; Elias McNamee, city councilman for many years; Arthur Patterson, a leading merchant; William Burtch, a merchant and importer; Samuel Tomlinson, dry goods merchant; Robert Buntin, clerk of the circuit court; Dennis Sayre, over whose grocery store the bank was located; George Ewing, and George R. C. Sullivan, ex-postmaster and member of the Legislature. [*Western Sun*, January 12, 1822.]

The Corydon branch had \$4,053 in specie, \$13,897 in notes in circulation, \$3,590 on deposit, with \$42,007 debts. [*Western Sun*, January 12, 1822.] On its board are many names well known in early Indiana history: A. Brandon, Dennis Pennington, R. C. Boon, John Depauw, Davis Floyd, Joshua Wilson, John Tipton, Joseph Merrill, James Kirkpatrick, Jordan Vigus, Benjamin Adams.

The Brookville branch reported paid-in capital of \$14,009; deposits, \$8,630; debts, \$95,319. Its directors were John Test, Enoch D. John, William E. Eads, James Noble, United States Senator; Robert John, John Allen, Nathaniel Gallion, Joseph Brackenridge, John Jacobs, James Backhouse, and Noah Noble, later Governor of the State.

Vevay had specie to the amount of \$1,997; capital, \$4,651; paper in circulation, \$423,783; debts, \$72,287.

Comment on this kind of banking is not necessary. Some of these men were dishonest—embezzlers; the 40 per cent. dividend was outright theft; but it is just as certain that, taken as a whole, these directors were the leading men of the State. They soon realized that the bank was a failure; and the new board, elected on the first Monday of March, 1822, were nearly all from Brookville. William Eads headed the committee to wind up the affairs of the bank. He gathered up what was left in the way of furniture and securities, and prepared to meet the creditors and the circuit court.

Senator James Noble undertook to settle the difficulty between the bank and the United States. [State Papers.] In place of the State bonds which were returned to the bank, he accepted private notes and mortgages. The bank had embezzled \$168,453 of United States money in specie on deposit. The property of the "Steam Mill," and that belonging to Judge Parke and others in Vincennes, passed to the United States, together with not less than seventy lots in Brookville. These latter show the amount that Brookville stockholders lost in the Vincennes Bank.

At the June term of the circuit court of Knox county a *quo warranto* suit brought the bank to an end. [Western Sun, July 13, 1822.] The jury found the bank officers guilty of violating the charter in several particulars, and the judge, in overruling a motion in arrest of judgment, sustained their verdict. [See Circuit Court Records at Vincennes, under above date.]

The State Supreme Court, on appeal, Judges Scott and Holman, affirmed the decision so far as it related to the charter, but reversed it so far as it related to property of the bank, so that the property reverted to the original donor. [Blackford Reports.] The bank creditors were left entirely without remedy and the debtors to the bank were discharged. [Western Sun, November 22, 1823.]

Echoes of the failure of this bank are met with frequently in the political literature of the times. When State Treasurer Lane was succeeded by Mr. Merrill, the former insisted on turning over the State funds in the form of these old bank-notes. A mandamus suit was necessary to decide the question. [Merrill vs. Lane, Blackford.]

When Governor Jennings went to Congress he called for the papers concerning the bank, and attempted to make out a case of collusion between the bank and United States officers in Indiana. [State Papers.] The House of Representatives called for the papers, but it resulted in nothing but additional disgrace and humiliation to the bank officers and directors. The Madison Bank was cited to show what honest men could have done.

Governor Hendricks, who succeeded Jennings, took advantage of his annual message to read the State a lecture on wildcat banking. Vincennes never regained the prestige in State politics she lost in this unfortunate affair.

THE INSTITUTIONAL HISTORY OF LAKE COUNTY IN THE LAST CENTURY.

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THE most interesting natural feature of Lake county is the Calumet river, which enters the county from Porter, two miles south of Lake Michigan, and flows westward, bearing a little south, along a marshy valley across the county. It continues on in the State of Illinois, running northeasterly until it reaches Blue Island Bluff, then turns back and flows but little south of east in a line parallel with its western flow, until it has again almost crossed the county of Lake, and enters Lake Michigan two miles west and two north of its entrance from Porter into Lake. It is said that the Indians, some ninety years ago, opened with the paddles of their canoes a new channel for this river in the marshy ground between Calumet lake, in Illinois, and Wolf lake, in Indiana and Illinois, both near Lake Michigan, and thus turned a portion of its waters into this lake by a northern course of a few miles, beginning two miles west of the State line. The Calumet has, therefore, now two mouths, some twenty miles apart. The eastward and westward flow of these northern streams is produced by the peculiar ridges of sand crossing the northern portion of the county. South of the watershed, the ridges and woodland and the prairies cause the streams to flow northward and southward.

The surface and soil of this county are quite varied. There is some low, level, marshy land, as well as low and marshy prairie, and rolling prairie with long ridges of woodland. There is rich, black soil of the prairie, and the still deeper rich soil of the high and dry marsh. Two notable ditches have been made in the southern part of the county for draining these marshes. The first one is the Singleton ditch, which begins in Eagle Creek township, flows north of Lineville, and then directly west, emptying into West creek, which flows into the Kankakee. Finding this ditch not sufficiently large to carry off the water, another—the Brown ditch—was made, starting somewhat south of the point of the beginning of the Singleton

ditch, and running along almost parallel with it, and joining it as it flows into West creek. These ditches are still found to be insufficient for the required drainage, and now there is talk of widening the Singleton ditch to one hundred feet. Over the county and above the line of the watershed, the warm vapor from the southern valleys and the slopes meets with the cooler vapor of Lake Michigan, giving to the county in ordinary seasons an abundance of moisture and causing the atmosphere to be very seldom perfectly cloudless. Since the waters of Lake Michigan become quite warm and continue so during October, and sometimes through November, the north wind, bringing that vapor and warm air over the ridges and down the southern slopes of the Kankakee, keeps off the early autumn frost, and this county is sometimes protected for weeks after the first frost appears farther west and south. Although the springs are wet and backward occasionally, the autumns are quite warm very late, and are, therefore, delightful.

The earliest knowledge concerning the Indian tribes of all this region comes from the French explorers of two hundred years ago and more, who, as early as 1679, passed in canoes down the Kankakee river, and some of whom—La Salle, with three other Frenchmen and an Indian hunter—passed on foot across our borders in the spring of 1680. After the War of the Revolution, only Indians, trappers and fur-traders were here until after the purchase of the land by the government from the Pottowatomies in 1832, when they turned it over to the whites, but the Indians were still on their hunting and trapping grounds in considerable numbers when the first settlers came in. Their favorite resorts were along the streams, around Cedar lake and at Wiggins Point. The Calumet river was especially attractive to them, since it furnished so many muskrats and mink for fur, and so many fish and water fowl for food. In this section of the country were a number of Indians' floats, which were something like a soldier's land warrant. The Indians about here lived in lodges or wigwams. The men wore a calico shirt, leggings, moccasins and a blanket. The squaws wore a broad cloth skirt and a blanket. In 1836 a large part of this tribe, numbering about five hundred, met in Chicago, and, led by their chief, "Chee-chee-bing-way," left this region for their Western reservation.

In 1833 the first cabin was built in Lake county by a white man, named Bennett, at the mouth of the Calumet river, for the entertainment of travelers going along the beach, on their way to the West. During the summer of 1834 the United States surveyors surveyed the land and settlers began to make claims. Richard Fancher selected a part of section 17 and Charles Wilson selected land near Cedar lake. In 1834 Solon Robinson, with his family, came and settled on the land now forming part of Crown Point. In October of the same year Thomas Childers and family, with a number of others, came from the Wabash, Mr. Childers settling in the southeast quarter of section 17, on the edge of School Grove, they being the first known settlers in the central part of the county. From this time settlements were continually being made. According to the claim register, six were made in 1834 and twenty-nine in 1835. The years 1836-'37 were marked by increased numbers, and in 1840 there was a population of 1,468.

With the pioneers, civilized life had begun. Logs for their cabins were hauled by oxen. There were no rafters nor shingles, but instead of shingles, shakes (clapboards) two feet long, rived out of a white oak log. Poles were put on these shakes to keep them in place; no nails were necessary. The door was hung with wooden hinges. The chimney was of sticks, laid up square and split out as nearly like laths as possible. Clay mortar was laid on with each lath, the whole was carried up above the roof, and the inside and the hearth were all clay, kept in place by logs outside. All was plastered inside and out with clay mortar. Furniture was scarce. There were no fastenings of any kind to the door except a wooden latch, with a string attached, by which the door was fastened, and in speaking of the hospitality of the pioneers, it is said that "the latchstring was always out." The man was rich who owned a breaking team. Tools were very primitive. Harrows were home-made, with wooden teeth. The only tool that has held its own is the American ax.

Pioneers came into the country from the southward—descendants of those who settled in Virginia, Kentucky and Tennessee. Families also came from Ohio, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, New York and the New England States, bringing their intelligence, their enterprise and their untiring energy. Settlers also came from the banks of the Rhine and from many of the kingdoms of Germany, with their in-

dustry and sturdiness; from Scotland and Sweden, from Denmark and the villages and fields of Holland.

The Squatters' Union, which was organized in 1836 for the better security of the pioneers upon the public lands, ceased after the land sale of 1839, and improvements were continually being made, societies formed and clubs organized.

Among the social orders was one known as the "Patrons of Husbandry." The individual organizations were called Granges. This was organized in Washington City, August, 1867, and now comprises a National Grange, State Grange and subordinate granges. It was designed for the pecuniary, social, intellectual and moral improvement of the agricultural community. A number of these granges are in the county at present.

At the first Masonic lodge of the county there were but six members; now there are numerous, prosperous and influential lodges in the county.

One of the most prosperous and interesting social organizations is that of the Old Settlers' Meeting, which was organized July 24, 1875. Their first meeting was September 25, 1875, since which time they have held one meeting a year.

The Tolleston Club, in the northern part of the county, is of great interest. During the spring of 1871 some of the sportsmen of Chicago formed an association, which they designated "Tolleston Club of Chicago." In 1881 they purchased and fenced in two thousand acres of marsh, which they held exclusively for their own shooting purposes, by stationing guards about the boundaries. There is a natural dam in the river near there, which causes the water to flow over the land, keeping it wet and damp at all times, to which the wild game naturally flocks. The club still exists and protects its game and property with great success.

Another institution, well known outside the county, was "The Roby Race Track," which first originated about 1892-'93, with the Columbian Athletic Association, Dominic O'Malley being president. A large arena was built, which held about ten thousand people, just within the county limits. During the World's Fair a number of prize-fighting contests were held. This was during Governor Matthews's administration. The promoters defied all local authority;

the sheriff was unable to control them, and they even defied the Governor, but were finally controlled by the militia, which he sent, and at last the Columbian Athletic Association was broken up. Then John Condon, one of the most noted gamblers in Chicago, secured the tract of ground near the arena, and started the Roby track, in company with others of his class. At first there was only one track there—the Roby track—but owing to the State law which was passed permitting only fifteen days' continuous racing on one track at a time, and requiring thirty days to intervene between the meetings on the same track, the company built two other tracks, called the "Lakeside" and "Sheffield." By holding their meeting of fifteen days first at Roby, then at Lakeside, and next at Sheffield, they were enabled lawfully to have racing the year round.

There is a lodge in the southern part of the county called the Cumberland Lodge, which was organized about 1873 by two English gentlemen, who were interested in hunting, and invested quite a sum of money in lands on School Grove Islands and adjoining the marshes. The improvements which the Englishmen made bear the name of "Cumberland Lodge," and at the time its formation was one of the most important events of the county, although at present little is heard of it.

In the care of the poor an important change has taken place. Until 1854 the poor were taken care of in the townships in which they reside, but in March of that year the necessity of an almshouse was plainly seen. Accordingly, land was procured and a house erected, which was used for this purpose until December 11, 1869, when it was declared that a tract of land containing in all 280 acres should be the poor farm. This was increased, and now consists of four hundred acres owned by the county.

In the early days there were no churches, but there were always some whose love for men and reverence for religious teachings prompted them to keep open house for every preacher who came that way. In 1836 a missionary of the Methodist Episcopal Church was sent in by the presiding elder, and preached in a cabin of Thomas Reed and at other places every six weeks. After six months' labor the first Methodist class was organized at Pleasant Grove, at the residence of E. W. Bryant. In 1838 the first quarterly

meeting in the county was held at the home of William Payne. Bishop Roberts conducted the meeting. In 1845 a great revival commenced, and this class was divided under two leaders, and the work prospered in different parts of the county. Church buildings were erected and successful work was carried on. In 1853 the county was divided into two circuits—the Crown Point circuit and the Lowell circuit. There are four German Methodist churches in the county, the oldest and largest one being the Cedar Lake Church, organized in 1853.

The Evangelical Association commenced missionary work at Cedar Lake in 1855, and a church was organized and a building erected. One was also erected at Crown Point in 1867.

Rev. R. C. Brown, pastor of the Presbyterian Church of Valparaiso, visited Crown Point in 1840, and conducted union services in the log court-house. Early in 1844 Lake Presbytery authorized him to organize a church. A building was completed in 1847. Numerous other churches were organized throughout the county, which maintained Sunday-schools, and a few have Christian Endeavor societies.

Three families from Massachusetts and two from New York, on June 17, 1838, formed themselves into a Baptist organization, and on May 19, 1838, fifteen in number, they were publicly recognized as a Baptist Church of Christ by a council of six brethren. On that same Sunday the ordinance of the Lord's Supper was for the first time observed by the Baptists of Lake county.

In the summer of 1876 a number of evangelists began to hold religious meetings at different places in the central part of the county. After these meetings closed, the leaders were obliged to change their plans, so they formed local bands into church organizations, called the "Union Mission Church." As the result of this band movement there is left in the county the church at Ross, with a good brick building, some few members at Hobart, with a wooden building, and the Free Methodist Church, at Crown Point, with a small brick building, keeping up regular services each week.

The first Catholic settler in the county was John Hack, who settled near St. Johns in 1837. Soon other families came and each large settlement required a church building and resident pastor or priest. The first chapel was built at St. Johns in 1843.

There are at least two varieties of Lutherans. The Evangelical Lutherans first established a church in 1857.

The Hollanders have one church in the county, which was commenced about 1855 by Dingeman Jabaay.

The exact date of the organization of the first Sunday-school is not known. Mrs. Russell Eddy, having come from Michigan City as a member of the Baptist Church, about 1837, gathered at her home a few children on Sunday afternoon and instructed them in the Scriptures. On account of the prejudices or indisposition to religion of her neighbors, this gathering was not called a Sunday-school.

The Baptists who settled at Cedar Lake and formed themselves into a church, commenced a Sunday-school in 1839. Rev. Mr. Brown, from Valparaiso, in connection with the Baptist pastor from Cedar Lake, held regular meetings at Crown Point about 1839, and organized a union Sunday-school, which was carried on by the Baptists, Presbyterians and Methodists after 1843. This school was removed to the Presbyterian Church and dropped the name of Union, and, about 1856, it became the Presbyterian school.

A few superintendents, teachers and friends of Sunday-schools in Lake county, met at Crown Point, September 6, 1865, for the purpose of forming a convention, which meets once a year in August, generally at the county fair grounds.

Lake county began its political existence in March, 1835, when the commissioners of Laporte county, to which both Lake and Porter were attached, ordered that all the territory of Lake, and as far east in Porter as the center of range six west, should constitute a township, to be known as Ross. On the 28th of January, 1836, the Governor approved the special enactment creating the counties of Lake and Porter, and by an act of the Legislature, approved January 18, 1837, it was declared that Lake should be an independent county after February 15, 1837. In the spring of 1836 the commissioners divided the territory of Lake into three townships—North, Center and South—and ordered an election for a justice of the peace in each township, which was the first election held in Lake county, the date being March 28, 1837. At that time there were

only three voting precincts, and the total number of votes cast was seventy-eight.

In response to an entreaty from Lake county, the State Legislature in February, 1839, appointed five locating commissioners to proceed to Lake county and locate a county seat; whereupon, an action was taken locating it at Liverpool, which was very unsatisfactory to all the citizens in the central and southern portions of the county. Consequently, the county officers were publicly urged not to go to that town until the State Legislature had been petitioned for a re-location. At the session of 1839-'40, the Legislature received information of this dissatisfaction existing in the county, and a re-location was ordered, and it was unanimously decided to fix the seat of justice on Section 8, near where the present court-house is situated. Mr. Robinson furnished a court-house for the county which was constructed of logs, and which was used until 1850. A frame court-house was then erected at the cost of \$10,000. In 1879 a brick building was completed, the corner-stone being laid in September, 1878. There has been some trouble between Hammond and Crown Point over the county-seat, beginning about twenty years ago, when an attempt was made to pass a bill giving permission to move the county-seat. An amendment was added to the bill by Senator Youche, that the said county-seat must not be within four miles of the county line, which was a blow to Hammond, as it is almost on the State line. Nevertheless, the superior court was finally located at Hammond early in the nineties, at which time the jurisdiction was limited, but since then its power has increased until now it has concurrent jurisdiction with the circuit court. This is said to be one of a few counties where the seat of justice is divided between two places.

The first county jail building was erected in 1851, just north of the old frame court-house building, and was used for this purpose until 1880, when it was decided that a more secure confinement for criminals was necessary; accordingly, a large two-story brick building was constructed at the total cost of \$23,367, being completed in 1882. It stands on Main street, directly north of the Methodist Episcopal church.

The first circuit court of the county was held in October, 1837,

which session was quiet and peaceful, there being at that time no drinking places.

The mail service in the early days was very limited. In 1837, Congress established some mail routes through the county, which had before only been crossed by the Detroit and Fort Dearborn mail, carried in coaches along the Michigan beach. The first route was from Laporte to Joliet. This was the principal mail line of the county until the railroad era commenced. The second was from Michigan City to Peoria. Later, other routes were established; and as the railroads came in, the mail service increased.

In the early days, until 1850, agriculture was the main dependence of the county, but after the railroads came a new element of growth and progress was formed in Lake county. The first railroad was the Michigan Central, making its way from Detroit; it was completed in 1850. A station was located at Deep River, named Lake. This was the beginning of a new era, for up to this time every bushel of grain, and pound of cheese, butter and pork, as well as all the produce of every kind, must reach the Chicago market by the slow transportation of ox and horse teams. By this means also, all the lumber, nails and every article of merchandise purchased was imported. At this time there was very little profit in farming. The second railroad was the Michigan Southern. The Joliet cut-off was built in 1854, when the stations of Dyer and Ross were started, Dyer becoming immediately the most important shipping point in the county. The Ft. Wayne road was completed in 1858, and as time went on, other railroads were extended across the county.

Farming, stock-raising and dairy products now began to be profitable; hay became a very valuable article of export. Although this is largely an agricultural and stock-raising community, still other interests sprang up in this railroad period.

Two brothers, Thomas and William Fisher, in 1850, started at South East Grove a broom factory, where work was carried on until 1859, when they removed the factory to a farm south of Crown Point, where Thomas Fisher still continues the business, which has proved very profitable.

The year 1832 marked the beginning of bridge building in the

county. Two northeast of town were built at an expense of \$500. The bridge across West creek cost \$400. Other valuable bridges were built. Were it not for these, we would not have our long highways—three of which are worthy of mention. The north and south road from near Hickory Top through Winfield, on a section line one mile west of Porter county, is straight for about eight miles. The north and south road east from Crown Point is straight for more than ten miles. The east and west road in this county is straight for eight miles. During the winter and damp seasons, the roads were almost impassable, especially with heavy loads, but the county has made great improvements in that line by building miles of macadamized roads between the most important places of the county in every township, thus improving all the important highways.

The first attempt to publish a newspaper in the county was some time prior to 1840. A small press and a small amount of type was procured, by which hand bills, land transfers, extras on agriculture and poems on local subjects of special interest were printed.

From an industrial standpoint, the northern part of our county is the most interesting and contains the greater wealth. The principal industry in the southern part of the county is agriculture, hay-raising and the like. Dairying is one of the leading industries of this vicinity. Some attention has been given to horse-raising, the third Tuesday of every month being known as horse-sale day in Crown Point.

The first meeting to organize an agricultural society in Lake county was held in Crown Point, August 27, 1851. William Clark was chairman. The next meeting was August 30, when the constitution was adopted and it was agreed to hold the first fair on October 28, 1852, the sum of \$100 being appropriated for premiums. The total number of premiums awarded was forty-three. At this fair there was no racing, and it lasted only one day. At present, the fairs are continued four or five days, and both horse and wheel racing are considered part of the main features. The fair grounds are owned by the county and have natural advantages. The half-mile race track surrounds a natural lake, fed by springs, and being built around the lake as it is causes the track to give, which renders

it especially adapted for breaking in young horses, which can be trotted as fast as desired without injury.

The first school of the county was taught by Mrs. Harriet Holton, in 1835-'36, in a private house. The number of scholars was three. The second school was commenced in the fall of 1837, in Pleasant Grove, and was taught in a part of the log cabin of Samuel Bryant by a Mr. Collins. The first schoolhouse in the county was the little black log cabin which came into use about 1838, and was used until 1842, when a frame structure was erected and as many as fifty scholars were in attendance. This building was used until 1859. The next schoolhouse was built at Cedar Lake in 1838. After this period, as the settlements increased, schools were started in different parts of the county. A schoolhouse in the southern part of the county was built of unhewn logs, chinked with pieces of wood, and plastered on the outside with mortar made of clay. The roof was made of long shingles or clap-boards supported by logs and held in position by poles laid across each tier. No nails were used in the roof. The floor was made of puncheons. The seats were of slabs with the level surface upward, supported with wooden legs and without backs.

Up to the year 1857 there were but few schoolhouses in the county. The greater number were temporary. Since that year the school buildings have been increasing, both as to number and quality; every year frame and brick houses are rapidly being constructed for the accommodation of Lake county's children. One reason for so marked a change in the improvements of the public schools is due to the influence arising from the county institutes which are held in different parts of the county, the teachers being required to attend in order to compare views upon the different methods of teaching, each being benefited by the views and suggestions of the others. The first institute, opening November 1, 1866, was held in the Presbyterian church at Crown Point, and was conducted by W. W. Cheshire. The third institute, held in 1868, was conducted by James H. Ball. They have continued to meet once a year ever since.

The first normal school instruction given in this county was by T. H. Ball, who opened the school August 19, 1872. The session

continued thirteen weeks. The next normal was held by the county superintendents July 17, 1876, and continued six weeks, the rate of tuition being \$1 per week, and the number enrolled being fifty-six. These normal schools have been continued and are being held every year for six weeks during the summer vacation—the rate of tuition being \$5 for the term.

The present teachers' association of Lake county was organized at Crown Point, November 2, 1883, with twenty-five members. The second meeting was held at Hammond, and it has since continued to meet at different places in the county and is always well attended.

At one time there was an academic school, started at Crown Point in 1856 by a Miss Parsons. She taught a subscription school and continued the same until her death in 1860.

There are several literary societies in the county at different places. The Cedar Lake Lyceum was organized in 1846 for boys, but is no longer in existence. The Cedar Lake Belles Letters Society, including girls among its members, was organized in 1847, meeting only once each month, with its chief attention being given to writing. There were several organizations of this society, which were designed to be a Lake county literary society; but, from lack of literary spirit, they did not continue long.

INDEX OF HISTORICAL ARTICLES IN INDIANA NEWSPAPERS.

SEPTEMBER, 1910—NOVEMBER, 1910

PREPARED BY FLORENCE VENN,
Reference Librarian, Indiana State Library.

Abbreviations: Ind., Indianapolis; mag. sec., magazine section; p., page; c., column.

- Antietam, Battle of. Indiana men in battle. South Bend Tribune, Sept. 17, 1910, p. 7, c. 1.
- Boundaries. History of Ohio-Indiana boundary. Ind. News, Nov. 5, 1910, p. 21, c. 1; South Bend Tribune, Nov. 8, 1910, p. 11, c. 2; Richmond Palladium, Nov. 8, 1910, p. 4, c. 4.
- Boyce, James. Death of and sketch of life. Muncie Star, Sept. 2, 1910, p. 14, c. 1.
- Carpenter, Walter T. Death of and sketch of life. Richmond Item, Sept. 1, 1910, p. 2, c. 3; Richmond Palladium, Sept. 1, 1910, p. 2, c. 1; Ind. News, Sept. 1, 1910, p. 2, c. 4.
- Cavins, E. H. C. Death of. Lafayette Courier, Sept. 12, 1910, p. 3, c. 2.
- Church history. Baptist and Methodist services held in Whitewater valley in 1797. Richmond Palladium, Sept. 19, 1910, p. 5, c. 5.
- First Protestant services held in Whitewater valley. Ind. News, Sept. 17, 1910, p. 4, c. 3.
- Counties. Bitter fights over county seats in early days. Ind. News, Oct. 8, 1910, p. 26, c. 6.
- Eggleston, Edward. Reminiscences of Rev. R. M. Barnes. South Bend Tribune, Oct. 26, 1910, p. 8, c. 3.
- Friends, Society of. History of meetings in Indiana. Ind. News, Sept. 17, 1910, p. 23, c. 2.
- G. A. R. Notre Dame post. South Bend Tribune, Sept. 24, 1910, p. 3, c. 1.
- Indianapolis. History of banking in Indianapolis. Ind. Star, Sept. 6, 1910, p. 13, c. 1.
- Amusing incidents of early days. Ind. News, Sept. 24, 1910, p. 27, c. 2.

- History of its fire department. *Ind. News*, Nov. 11, 1910, p. 15.
- Ezra Meeker's recollections of early Indianapolis. *Ind. Star*, Nov. 27, 1910, p. 9, c. 1.
- Jameson, Patrick H. Death of. *Ind. News*, Oct. 8, 1910, p. 19, c. 3; *Ind. Star*, Oct. 8, 1910, p. 1, c. 3; *Lafayette Courier*, Oct. 8, 1910, p. 5, c. 2.
- Lafayette. History of Salem Reformed Church read at its fiftieth anniversary. *Lafayette Courier*, Sept. 5, 1910, p. 4, c. 3.
- Maps. Indiana map of 1826. *Ind. Star*, Oct. 30, 1910, p. 8, c. 2; *Muncie Star*, Nov. 1, 1910, p. 10, c. 2; *Terre Haute Star*, Nov. 6, 1910, p. 8, c. 2.
- State map of 1830. *Muncie Star*, Oct. 25, 1910, p. 9, c. 2.
- Masons. History of, in Fort Wayne. *Fort Wayne Journal-Gazette*, Oct. 5, 1910, p. 2, c. 1.
- Mexican war. Copy of Evansville Journal of May 8, 1846. *Ind. News*, Sept. 3, 1910, p. 5, c. 5.
- Indiana in the war. *Ind. Star*, Sept. 4, 1910, p. 8, c. 1.
- Part played by 2nd Indiana as told by Gen. McNaught. *Ind. Star*, Sept. 11, 1910, p. 12, c. 1.
- Mexican war veterans. Last meeting of national association. *Ind. News*, Sept. 6, 1910, p. 1, c. 8; *Ind. Star*, Sept. 7, 1910, p. 3, c. 1.
- Meyers, J. F. W. Death of pioneer Ft. Wayne druggist. *Ft. Wayne Journal-Gazette*, Sept. 8, 1910, p. 1, c. 7.
- Minerva club. Description of first woman's club in America. *Richmond Item*, Oct. 25, 1910, p. 4, c. 3; *South Bend Tribune*, Nov. 11, 1910, p. 6, c. 3.
- Pictures of house where club was founded and of its founder. *Richmond Item*, Oct. 26, 1910, p. 2, c. 4.
- Moody, William Vaughn. Death of. *Ind. News*, Oct. 18, 1910, p. 4, c. 5; *Ind. Star*, Oct. 18, 1910, p. 1, c. 4.
- Muncie. Main street fifty years ago. *Muncie Press*, Sept. 1, 1910, p. 9, c. 2.
- Names, geographical. Mixed origin of many names on Indiana's map. *Ind. News*, Sept. 24, 1910, p. 18, c. 1.
- National road. National road and taverns in Wayne county. *Richmond Palladium*, Oct. 2, 1910, financial and historical section, p. 24, c. 3.

- Newspapers. Reproduction of page of Richmond Palladium of August 27, 1831. Richmond Palladium, Oct. 7, 1910, p. 1, c. 4.
- Peru. History and 75th anniversary of Presbyterian Church. Muncie Star, Nov. 23, 1910, p. 6, c. 4.
- Pfeiffer, John C. Death of Allen county pioneer. Ft. Wayne Journal-Gazette, Sept. 5, 1910, p. 7, c. 4.
- Regimental histories. Reunion and history of First and Eighteenth Infantry and First battery. Richmond Item, Oct. 19, 1910, p. 6, c. 4.
- Sketch of 160th regiment. Muncie Star, Sept. 4, 1910, p. 9, c. 1.
- Regimental histories. List of veterans attending reunion of 8th and 18th infantry and 1st battery. Richmond Palladium, Oct. 21, 1910, p. 4, c. 4.
- 29th regt. Reunion of. South Bend Tribune, Sept. 7, 1910, p. 4, c. 3.
- Richmond. History of. Richmond Item, Oct. 7, 1910, p. 2.
- St. Clair, Arthur. Story of his life. Ind. News, Sept. 10, 1910, p. 26, c. 5.
- St. Joseph river. Early navigation on. South Bend Tribune, Sept. 1, 1910, p. 4, c. 1.
- Schools. Half a century's advance in Parker City's schoolhouses. Muncie Star, Oct. 7, 1910, p. 6, c. 2.
- South Bend. History and 75th anniversary of First M. E. church. South Bend Tribune, Nov. 19, 1910, p. 18, c. 1.
- Terre Haute. Railroads figure in city's development. Terre Haute Star, Nov. 6, 1910, p. 29, c. 1.
- Ranks high as interurban center. Terre Haute Star, Nov. 6, 1910, hist. sec., p. 2, c. 1.
- Prominent men. Terre Haute Star, Nov. 6, 1910, hist. sec.
- Wabash. First city in the world to be lighted with electricity. Muncie Press, Sept. 9, 1910, p. 4, c. 4.
- Wayne county. History and prominent men. Ind. News, Oct. 1, 1910, p. 14.
- History of. Richmond Palladium, Oct. 2, 1910, financial and historical section, p. 1.
- Pioneers had trouble with Indians. Richmond Palladium. Oct. 2, 1910, p. 6, c. 5.

- Some of its noted men. Richmond Palladium, Oct. 3, 1910, p. 4, c. 5.
- Friendly to slaves. Richmond Palladium, Oct. 3, 1910, p. 4, c. 5.
- Whitewater valley. Earliest Protestant church service in Indiana held there. Ind. News, Sept. 17, 1910, p. 4, c. 3.
- Baptist and Methodist services held in 1797. Richmond Palladium, Sept. 19, 1910, p. 5, c. 5.
- Women's clubs. New Harmony Minerva club the first women's club in America. South Bend Tribune, Nov. 11, 1910, p. 6, c. 3.
- Pictures of house in which Minerva club was founded and of its founder. Richmond Item, Oct. 26, 1910, p. 2, c. 4.

THE PROGRAM OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL
ASSOCIATION MEETING AT INDIANAPOLIS.

OFFICERS OF THE ASSOCIATION

President

FREDERICK J. TURNER, Cambridge, Mass.

First Vice-President

WILLIAM M. SLOANE, New York

Second Vice-President

THEODORE ROOSEVELT, Oyster Bay

Secretary

WALDO G. LELAND, Carnegie Institution, Washington

Treasurer

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Secretary of the Council

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Curator

.. HOWARD CLARK, Smithsonian Institution, Washington

Executive Council

(In addition to the above officers)

EX-PRESIDENTS OF THE ASSOCIATION

Andrew D. White

James B. Angell

Henry Adams

James Schouler

James Ford Rhodes

Charles Francis Adams

Alfred Thayer Mahan

John Bach McMaster

Simeon E. Baldwin

J. Franklin Jameson

George B. Adams

Albert Bushnell Hart

ELECTED

Max Farrand	Charles H. Hull
Frank H. Hodder	Franklin L. Riley
Evarts B. Greene	Edwin E. Sparks

Committee on the Present Program

EVARTS B. GREENE, Chairman

Wilbur C. Abbott	Earl W. Dow
Archibald C. Coolidge	William L. Westermann
	James A. Woodburn

Committee on Local Arrangements

CALVIN N. KENDALL, Chairman

Christopher B. Coleman, Secretary	Jacob P. Dunn
Evarts B. Greene	John H. Holliday
Thomas C. Howe	Charles W. Moores
Meredith Nicholson	Charles R. Williams
Charles E. Coffin	Grace Julian Clarke

The Twenty-sixth Annual Meeting of the American Historical Association will be held in Indianapolis, December 27-30, 1910. The North Central History Teachers' Association, the Mississippi Valley Historical Association, and the Ohio Valley Historical Association will also hold meetings at the same time and place.

NORTH CENTRAL HISTORY TEACHERS' ASSOCIATION

James A. Woodburn, *President*, Indiana University,
Bloomington, Ind.

MISSISSIPPI VALLEY HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

Benjamin F. Shambaugh, *President*, Iowa State University,
Iowa City, Ia.

OHIO VALLEY HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

Isaac J. Cox, *President*, University of Cincinnati, Cincinnati, Ohio

GENERAL ARRANGEMENTS

No special railroad rates have been attainable for conventions held within the territory of the Central Passenger Association in the immediate future. Where ten or more persons go together on a block ticket a considerable reduction is ordinarily given by the railroad companies.

The headquarters of the meeting will be at the Claypool Hotel. The registration office there will be open from Tuesday noon, December 27, to Friday evening, December 30.

Members of the Association will be given admission to the clubs and various institutions of the city.

A general reception for ladies and gentlemen will be given Wednesday night at the John Herron Art Institute. A reception for visiting ladies will be given Thursday afternoon. A smoker will be given for men after the program, Thursday evening, at the University Club. A luncheon is being arranged for Friday at 12:30. This luncheon will be held at the Claypool Hotel, and the charge per plate will be \$1.50. Members wishing to attend should notify C. B. Coleman, 440 Newton Claypool Building, Indianapolis, and inclose check.

Letters concerning local arrangements other than those relating to hotels and rooms should be addressed to C. B. Coleman, 440 Newton Claypool Building, Indianapolis. All correspondence relating to the program should be addressed to Evarts B. Greene, University of Illinois, Urbana, Ill.

PROGRAM

Papers are limited to twenty minutes and discussions to ten minutes for each speaker. Those who read papers or take part in the conferences are requested to furnish the Secretary with abstracts of their papers or remarks.

Persons not members of the Association will be cordially welcomed to the regular sessions.

TUESDAY, December 27.

12:30 P. M. UNIVERSITY CLUB, Meridian and Michigan Streets.
Luncheon and business meeting of the Ohio Valley Historical Association.

4:00 P. M. CLAYPOOL HOTEL.

Conference on Historical Publication Work in the Ohio Valley.

8:00 P. M. PALM ROOM, CLAYPOOL HOTEL.

Session on Western History. Joint session of the American Historical Association, the Ohio Valley Historical Association, and the Mississippi Valley Historical Association.—Chairman, Benjamin F. Shambaugh, Iowa State University.

“New Light on the Explorations of the Verendrye.” Orin G. Libby, University of North Dakota. Discussion by Lawrence J. Burpee, Ottawa, Canada.

“The American Intervention in West Florida.” Isaac J. Cox, University of Cincinnati. Discussion by a speaker to be announced.

“A Century of Steamboat Navigation on the Ohio.” Archer B. Hulbert, Marietta College. Discussion by R. B. Way, Indiana University.

“The Beginnings of the Free-Trade Movement in the Canadian Northwest.” P. E. Gunn, Winnipeg, Canada.

“Early Forts on the Upper Mississippi.” Dan E. Clark, State Historical Society of Iowa.

WEDNESDAY, December 28.

9:00 A. M. Meetings of Committees (at call of the chairmen).

9:30 A. M. ASSEMBLY ROOM, CLAYPOOL HOTEL.

Session on the Teaching of History and Civics under the auspices of the North Central History Teachers' Association.—Chairman, James A. Woodburn, Indiana University.

“The Evolution of the Teacher.” Lucy M. Salmon, Vassar College.

“Is Government Teachable in the Schools?” Albert Bushnell Hart, Harvard University.

“Local History and the City Community as Themes for

Civic Teaching." Arthur W. Dunn, Central High School, Philadelphia.

"How the Cincinnati Public Schools Are Using Local History." Frank P. Goodwin, Woodward High School, Cincinnati.

Discussion.

An Illustrative Civics Class from the Eighth Grade, Indianapolis Public Schools, "Waste and Saving." Miss Flora Swan, Indianapolis.

2:00 P. M.

Conferences.

1. *Ancient History*. Palm Room, Claypool Hotel.

Chairman, Henry B. Wright, Yale University.

"The Western Campaigns of Sennacherib." Robert W. Rogers, Drew Theological Seminary.

"Motive and Character in Polybius." George W. Botsford, Columbia University.

"Some Aspects of Roman Imperialism." R. F. Scholz, University of California.

"The Monument of Ancyra." William L. Westermann, University of Wisconsin.

Discussion. Outlines of the papers will be sent in advance to all who notify the chairman of their intention to be present.

2. *Modern European History*. Club Room, Claypool Hotel.

Chairman, Guy S. Ford, University of Illinois.

General Topic: "European History as a Field for American Historical Work."

Discussion opened with a paper by Charles M. Andrews, Yale University, on "The Doctor's Dissertation in European History."

Discussion continued by Archibald C. Coolidge, Harvard University; John M. Vincent, Johns Hopkins University; James W. Thompson, University of Chicago; Fred M. Fling, University of Nebraska.

3. *American Diplomatic History, with Special Reference to Latin-American Relations.* Ladies' Cafe, Claypool Hotel.

Chairman, James A. James, Northwestern University.

Papers by Joseph Schafer, University of Oregon; Joseph H. Sears, New York; James M. Callahan, West Virginia University.

(Subjects and additional speakers to be announced.)

4. *Conference of State and Local Historical Societies.* Assembly Room, Claypool Hotel.

Chairman, Charles M. Burton, Detroit, Mich.

Transaction of business.

Introductory remarks by the Chairman.

"The Collection and Preservation of Historical Sources, Manuscript and Printed, as a Function of Historical Societies." Reuben G. Thwaites, State Historical Society of Wisconsin.

Discussion on "The Collection of Materials": (a) "The Collection of Materials Bearing on Religious and Church History," William H. Allison, Colgate University; (b) "Publicity as a Means of Adding to Collections."

"The Preservation and Care of Collections, with Especial Reference to the Restoration and Treatment of Manuscripts." Clarence W. Alvord, University of Illinois, Illinois State Historical Library.

8:00 P. M. ASSEMBLY ROOM, CLAYPOOL HOTEL.

Address of welcome. Thomas R. Marshall, Governor of Indiana.

Presidential Address. Frederick J. Turner, Harvard University.

At the close of the session there will be a reception for ladies and gentlemen at the John Herron Art Institute. Members will be taken by special cars from the Claypool Hotel to the reception.

THURSDAY, December 29.

10:00 A. M. ASSEMBLY ROOM, CLAYPOOL HOTEL.

General Session Commemorating the Fiftieth Anniversary of Secession.

The North in 1860.

"Cotton and Border Politics, 1850-1860." Worthington C. Ford, Massachusetts Historical Society.

"The Decision of the Ohio Valley." Carl R. Fish, University of Wisconsin.

"The Dred Scott Decision." Edward S. Corwin, Princeton University.

"The Doctrine of Secession and Coercion." Andrew C. McLaughlin, University of Chicago.

2:00 P. M.

Conferences.

1. *Medieval History*. Club Room, Claypool Hotel.

Chairman, Earl W. Dow, University of Michigan.

"Royal Purveyance in Fourteenth Century England, Especially in the Light of Simon Islip's *Speculum Regis*." Chalfant Robinson, Yale University.

General Topic: "Profitable Fields of Investigation in Medieval History." Informal discussion opened by Charles H. Haskins, Harvard University, with remarks on "Comparative Constitutional History."

2. *Conference of Archivists*. Ladies' Cafe, Claypool Hotel.

Chairman, Herman V. Ames, University of Pennsylvania.

"The Work of the International Conference of Archivists and Librarians at Brussels, August 28-31, 1910." A. J. F. Van Laer, Archivist, State Library of New York.

"What Material Should Go into the Archives?"

Discussion opened by Dunbar Rowland, Department of Archives and History, State of Mississippi, and Gaillard Hunt, Manuscripts Division, Library of Congress.

Discussion continued by Victor H. Paltsits, State Historian of New York; Frederic L. Paxson, University of Wisconsin; R. D. W. Connor, North Carolina Historical Commission; Reuben G. Thwaites, Wisconsin State Historical Society; Thomas M. Owen, Department of Archives and History, State of Alabama.

3. *Conference of Teachers of History in Teachers' Colleges and Normal Schools.* Banquet Room T.

Chairman, Albert H. Sanford, State Normal School, LaCrosse, Wis.

"The Professional Training of High School History Teachers." Thomas N. Hoover, Teachers' College, Ohio State University. Discussion led by Frank S. Bogardus, Indiana State Normal School, Terre Haute.

"The Requirements Fixed by State and Other Authorities for High School Teachers of History." Edgar Dawson, Normal College, New York City. Informal discussion.

4:30-6:00 P. M. Tea at the residence of Mrs. E. C. Atkins, 1312 North Meridian Street, to which all visiting ladies are invited.

8:00 P. M. Session on European History. Assembly Room, Claypool Hotel.

"The Efforts of the Danish Kings to Recover the English Crown After the Death of Harthacnut." Laurence M. Larson, University of Illinois.

"Some Critical Notes on the Works of S. R. Gardiner." Roland G. Usher, Washington University.

"Anglo-Dutch Relations, 1654-1660." Ralph C. H. Catterall, Cornell University.

"Historiography of the French Revolution with Special Reference to the Work of Aulard." H. Morse Stephens, University of California.

"Alexis de Tocqueville and the Republic of 1848." Charles D. Hazen, Smith College.

10:00 P. M. Smoker at the University Club.

FRIDAY, December 30.

10:00 A. M. AUDITORIUM, Y. M. C. A. BUILDING, New York and Illinois Streets.

General Session Commemorating the Fiftieth Anniversary of Secession.

The South in 1860.

"Some Recollections of a Horseback Ride Through the South in 1850." James B. Angell, President Emeritus, University of Michigan.

"The Lower South in the Election of 1860." David Y. Thomas, University of Arkansas.

"North Carolina on the Eve of Secession." William K. Boyd, Trinity College, North Carolina.

"The Waning Power of the South in the Northwest, 1856-1860." William E. Dodd, University of Chicago.

12:30 P. M. CLAYPOOL HOTEL.

Luncheon, followed by informal speaking.

Toastmaster, James A. Woodburn, Indiana University.

8:00 P. M. ASSEMBLY ROOM, CLAYPOOL HOTEL.

Round Table Discussion. General Topic: "The Relation of History to the Newer Sciences of Mankind."

Paper by James Harvey Robinson, Columbia University. Discussion led by George L. Burr, Cornell University; Max Farrand, Yale University; George W. Knight, Ohio State University; Frederic L. Paxson, University of Wisconsin; George H. Mead, University of Chicago.

INDIANA QUARTERLY MAGAZINE OF HISTORY

Indiana State Library, Indianapolis
Published by the Indiana Historical Society
CHRISTOPHER B. COLEMAN, *Editor*

EDITORIAL.

The approaching meeting of the American Historical Association and allied organizations from Tuesday, December 27, to Friday, December 30, in Indianapolis, has already been repeatedly referred to in this magazine. In this number is published, practically in full, the exceedingly interesting program. All of our readers should look over this program with reference to attending at least some of the meetings. No charge and no restrictions of any kind are placed upon the attendance of the general public. Every one interested in history is cordially invited to attend the sessions. The program speaks for itself, but especial attention may well be called to the session upon Western History, Tuesday evening; the session upon the Teaching of History and Civics, Wednesday morning; the conference of State and Local Historical Societies, Wednesday afternoon; the meeting Wednesday evening to be addressed by Governor Marshall and Professor Frederick J. Turner, president of the American Historical Association, and the two sessions on Thursday and Friday mornings, on the occasion of the Fiftieth Anniversary of Secession.

The editor wishes again to urge the importance of membership in the Indiana Historical Society and the American Historical Association. Opportunity will be given at the registration desk at the Claypool Hotel to apply for membership in either or both of these organizations. While membership is in both cases elective, the governing bodies have been exceedingly liberal and broad in their policy, and no one interested in history and the extension of its study need hesitate to apply for membership. The annual membership fee of the American Historical Society is \$3, and of the Indiana Historical Society \$1. In both cases this entitles members to receive free of charge all the regular publications of the society.

The North Central History Teachers' Association, the Mississippi Valley and the Ohio Valley Historical Associations all meet in connection with the other organizations referred to, and will also be glad to make additions to their membership at this time.

The article upon the Institutional History of Lake County, published in this number, represents a kind of writing which it is the policy of the INDIANA QUARTERLY MAGAZINE OF HISTORY to encourage. It is the product of work done during the college course at Earlham College under the direction of the Department of History. The magazine will be glad to publish from time to time articles of a similar character. There are twenty or more institutions of higher learning in the State where work of this sort ought to be done nearly every year. Too much of our teaching is devoted to spiritless and pointless traveling over the well-worn, hard-beaten tracks of general historical knowledge. We too often take our students to the granaries into which long-known historical facts have been garnered by other writers and ask them to shovel the piles of grain around from one place to another. We too seldom ask them to do the more vital and productive work of threshing out the wheat from the straw and the chaff, and themselves putting more grain into the granary. And so it is that much of our teaching of history is stale and profitless.

There is no intention in this to disparage the importance of careful and insistent drill in the well-established facts of historical significance. High school and college students alike ought to know more facts, dates and events, and to know them better than they do. But side by side with this historical drill, there ought to be given a taste at least of the methods and the joy of creative historical work. Students should be stimulated in the ambition to find out things for themselves. They should be taught to put books and authors to the test of accuracy by their own investigations. They should be led to the summit and the end of all true historical teaching, the desire to get at the truth of things by direct, original, first-hand work.

There is no field open to Indiana students and colleges for this sort of work that is comparable to the field of local history. The equipment of even the largest of our institutions renders difficult

first-class work along this line in European history. There is furthermore the difficulty of having to deal frequently with two or more foreign languages. But even a comparatively small library and meager equipment does not prevent really original work in much of American and especially local history. The student can frequently collect his own material, and this is one of the best parts of the work. We hope that more of our colleges and universities will go into this work. For the publication of the product of the work the pages of this magazine will always be open.

NOTES.

Plans are being made at Lafayette for the celebration in 1911 of the centennial of the battle of Tippecanoe. Professor Thomas F. Moran, of Purdue University, is chairman of the committee in charge.

At a special meeting of the Indiana Historical Society on Thursday, December 1, an appropriation of fifty dollars was made by the society toward defraying the expenses connected with the meeting of the American Historical Association and allied societies at Indianapolis. A resolution was also passed urging upon the Legislature the necessity of a new State Library and Museum building.

At an informal dinner given by the Commercial Club, of Indianapolis, to the members of the Indiana Historical Society on the evening of December 9, there was an attendance of thirty-four. Short talks were made by Dr. Wynn, of the Civic Improvement Commission of the Commercial Club, D. C. Brown, Harlow Lindley, James A. Woodburn, C. B. Coleman and others. A paper was read by J. P. Dunn which is printed in this number of the quarterly.

The organization of a local historical society is being agitated at Crawfordsville. Montgomery county should maintain an active organization. Those interested should address Professor Charles A. Tuttle, Wabash College.

REVIEWS OF BOOKS.

HISTORY OF INDIANAPOLIS.

[By Jacob Piatt Dunn. Illustrated. 2v., pp. 641, 616, numbered consecutively 1257. The Lewis Publishing Co., Chicago. 1910. Sold by subscription only, \$25.]

This work consists, as most county and city histories do, of two distinct parts. Volume I is a history of Indianapolis, called in the subtitle *The Greater Indianapolis*, and volume II is a series of biographical sketches of the "leading citizens." The author, Mr. Dunn, has evidently had nothing whatever to do with volume II. His work as a historian of Indianapolis must be considered first, and independently of the biographical studies.

Mr. Dunn's work is called for by the absence of any recent history of Indianapolis. Twenty-five or more years has passed since the appearance of Sulgrove's *History of Indianapolis and Marion County*. In view of the fact, however, that relatively a good deal about the early history of the city had been already put into book form, Mr. Dunn would have done well to have given a larger part of his work to recent developments and less to early days. In some places, also, Mr. Dunn goes into lengthy details and occasionally gives space to trifles, but when 641 quarto pages are given to Indianapolis there is perhaps room for this. The author's genial personality occasionally comes to the surface in interesting but undignified phrases, as in connection with the famous Dudley letter of instructions for the election of 1888 that floaters be organized in blocks of five with a "trusted man with the necessary funds in charge." Mr. Dunn refers to a change of words in the newspaper publication of the letter as made by "some Eastern ass." These are comparatively minor criticisms, however, of a work which is evidently entitled to the highest praise.

So far as the reviewer has been able to verify statements, Mr. Dunn is accurate in his facts and fair in his inferences. There has been a vast amount of research and investigation in the making of the history. It would not have been a genuine product of its au-

thor if he had not gone fully into disputed questions. The mooted point as to whether George Pogue or John McCormick was the first settler is decided by Mr. Dunn in favor of McCormick in the best treatment of the subject yet published. That history is not yet an exact science, however, may be seen by the appearance in 1908 of a statement by the honored president of the Indiana Historical Society that Ignatius Brown had "marshalled such an array of evidence as seems to leave little room for further doubt" that George Pogue was the first settler (D. W. Howe, "Making a Capital in the Wilderness," page 315), and by Mr. Dunn's full discussion ending with the verdict, "the conclusion seems irresistible * * * that John McCormick was the first permanent settler" (History of Indianapolis, I, 45). It ought to be added, however, that Mr. Dunn accepts the tradition that George Pogue's house was the first house built, having been put up in 1819 by one Ute Perkins and abandoned by him but occupied afterwards by George Pogue.

The one omission of any consequence is the neglect to give any account of organized charity work in the city. The importance and significance of the Charity Organization Society entitles it to considerable notice, if not to a chapter by itself. More than offsetting this, is Mr. Dunn's good judgment in omitting much material which wearies the reviewer of most county histories, namely the early history of the North American continent as a whole and the early history of the State. Every local historian in this part of the country either has to take a running start before he jumps into his subject, or else assumes that his reader will doubt the existence of his county unless he ties it back to Columbus or even to the creation of the world. Mr. Dunn omits all that and starts in with the beginnings of Indianapolis.

Not the least merit of the first volume is the style of the narrative. It is clear, vivid and interesting—it makes good reading. There is always a lurking humor even in the account of the most commonplace subjects. What reader is not refreshed in reading about an early insurance company by coming without warning upon this, "It ran along until Childs became infatuated with a young woman and eloped to Oregon, leaving a wife and a Sunday-school, of which he was superintendent, to mourn his loss" (volume I, p. 363). Every citizen of Indianapolis, old or new, will find that he

will get not only a great deal of valuable information about his city, but a great deal of entertainment in running over the pages of the History of Greater Indianapolis.

As to the advertising part of the work, the series of autobiographical sketches which comprise volume II, the least said the better. What can be said of publishers who insert a full-page plate of "Pop" June and give us no likeness of Senator Beveridge, Governor Marshall and Vice-President Fairbanks; whose only account of President Harrison is a passing reference under the title of Colonel Russell B. Harrison; who omit entirely such men of the past as George P. Julian and such men of this generation as Hugh H. Hanna—what but that they are out to make as much money as possible out of the vanity of our "prominent citizens." It is surprising how many prominent citizens we have. The reviewer is compelled to confess that, after a residence of some years in Indianapolis, he was not aware that the city possessed such a stock of patriotic soldiers, illustrious doctors, loyal and devoted citizens, remarkable business men, distinguished educators, men who have gained impregnable holds upon popular confidence and esteem, judges whose courses on the bench have been marked by great discrimination, fidelity and judicial acumen so that their official records stand to their perpetual credit, sons who have added laurels to the honored names of fathers, as here give an account of themselves.

PAST AND PRESENT OF TIPPECANOE COUNTY.

[By General R. P. De Hart. Illustrated. 2v. B. F. Bowen & Co., Indianapolis. 1909.]

Judge De Hart is well qualified to be the historian of Tippecanoe county. His work is well done. It contains excellent chapters upon the Indian occupancy and the battle of Tippecanoe (though overloaded with the speeches at the dedication of the Battleground monument), the city of Lafayette, Purdue University, and various phases of local development. Many of the chapters were written by collaborators of the author, S. Vater, Brainerd Hooker, Alva O. Reser, R. F. Hight, Dr. S. S. Washburn. There is not a great amount of new information in the work, but it is a convenient gathering together of a large mass of information concerning Tippecanoe

county and Lafayette, and will be of increasing value as the years go on.

The second volume is the usual eulogistic collection of fulsome biographies, subscription for which makes the county history profitable for the publisher.

HOME FOLKS.

[A Series of Stories by Old Settlers of Fulton County. Volumes I and II. By Marguerite Miller. Illustrated. 146 and 105 pages respectively. Published by the author, Rochester, Indiana. No date.]

These booklets are made up of stories of the personal experiences of pioneers of Fulton county. They were originally written for the *Rochester Republican*, and as an afterthought published in book form. The demand for them was so great that most of the copies were sold immediately upon publication. Miss Miller is to be congratulated upon her success in getting these stories and in putting them into such form as to bring them before the people. As far as possible, she has given the words of the pioneers themselves, preserving the originality and the individuality of the narrators. The stories make very interesting reading and add a good deal to our store of knowledge in regard to early schools, roads, conditions prevailing before the Civil War, and genealogy. The photographs published with the stories are also of interest and value. It is to be hoped that Miss Miller will continue her work, as her interview with Mrs. James Smith, age ninety-eight, published in the *Rochester Republican* of October 13, 1910, gives promise she will. It is to be hoped also that copies of these books will be preserved, even though they are bound in paper, as there are many things of value in them. If other volumes are published, it would be well worth while to give them a full table of contents and an index.

THE ILLINOIS COUNTRY—1763-1774.

[Clarence Edwin Carter, A. M., Ph. D., Assistant Professor of History in Illinois College. 223 pp. Published by The American Historical Association, Washington. 1910. \$1.50; to members of the Association, \$1.00.]

This account of the Illinois country under English control, though not bearing directly upon Indiana history, touches it at so many points and contributes so much to the correct understanding of conditions in Indiana settlements also that it is to be looked upon as a valuable addition to the history of this State. The worth of the monograph is attested by its receiving the Justin Winsor prize in 1908 for the best essay in American history submitted to the American Historical Association in the contest that year. It is a thoroughly scientific treatment of the subject, based upon a personal investigation of practically all the accessible original material, manuscript as well as printed. Perhaps the most important facts brought to light for the first time are those concerning the proposed establishment of a separate English colony in the northwest between 1763 and 1768, in which Benjamin Franklin and other prominent men were interested. Trade conditions and contests for trade are also for the first time described in a full and satisfactory manner.

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INDEX OF VOLUME VI.

Contributed articles are indicated by *italics*, authors of articles by SMALL CAPS, and books and papers referred to by quotation marks.

	Page
American Historical Association, Indianapolis Meeting of.....	130-132, 175-183, 184-185
<i>Ancient Mounds and Enclosures in Indiana</i> , BARCUS TICHENOR.....	33-42
Baird, L. C., "A History of Clark County," reviewed.....	59-61
<i>Banks, The First Indiana</i> , LOGAN ESARY.....	144-158
<i>Bibliography of Indiana Local History</i> , LILIAN HENLEY.....	43-54
<i>Bison in the United States</i>	114-117
Brookville, early banks at.....	144, 146, 148 ff.
<i>Brookville's Rounded Century</i> , HUBERT M. SKINNER.....	81-86
Brown, R. T.....	17 ff.
Campbell, Alexander.....	29 ff.
Carter, Clarence E., "The Illinois Country—1763-1774," reviewed....	190-191
Census, Names of Persons Enumerated in Marion County in 1830....	132, 134
<i>Christian Churches in Indiana, Formation of</i> , H. CLAY TRUSTY.....	17
<i>Churches, Formation of the Christian Churches in Indiana</i> , H. CLAY TRUSTY.....	17
<i>City Histories, Bibliography of</i> , LILIAN HENLEY.....	91-95
"Clark County, A History of," L. C. Baird, reviewed.....	59-61
Clark county, mounds in.....	41
"Clay County, A History of," William Travis, reviewed.....	104
"Common School Advocate," Vol. I, No. 2.....	118-126
CONKLIN, JULIA S., <i>Underground Railroad in Indiana</i>	63-74
Cole, Mordecai.....	24
Combs, Michael.....	27 ff.
Corydon, early bank at.....	148 ff.
Daubenspeck, Jacob.....	26
Dearborn county, mounds in.....	39
DeHart, R. P., "Past and Present of Tippecanoe County," reviewed..	189-190
<i>Divorce in Marion County</i> , WILLIAM S. GARBER.....	1-16
Documents, public.....	137-143
<i>Documents, The Public, of Indiana</i> , JOHN A. LAPP.....	105-113
"Dubois County, History of," George R. Wilson, reviewed.....	102-103
Dunn, J. P., "History of Indianapolis," reviewed.....	187-189
DUNN, J. P., <i>The Duty of the State to Its History</i>	137-143
<i>Duty of the State to Its History</i> , J. P. DUNN.....	137-143
<i>Earliest Indiana School Journal, The</i>	118-126
Education in Indiana.....	118-126
"Elements of Indiana's Population," W. E. Henry, reviewed.....	133-134

	Page
ESARY, LOGAN, <i>The First Indiana Banks</i>	144-158
Fulton county, pioneers of.....	190
<i>Friends—Early Contribution to the Indians</i>	87-88
<i>Formation of the Christian Churches in Indiana</i> , H. CLAY TRUSTY.....	17-32
Finch family, settlement at Noblesville.....	75 ff.
GARBER, WILLIAM S., <i>Divorce in Marion County</i>	1-16
<i>Hamilton County, Settlement of Noblesville</i> , J. G. FINCH.....	75-80
HENLEY, LILIAN, <i>Bibliography of Local History</i>	43-54
Henry county, mounds in.....	38
Henry, W. E., "Some Elements of Indiana's Population; or Roads West and Their Early Travelers".....	133-134
History Section of State Teachers' Association.....	101
"Home Folks," Marguerite Miller, reviewed.....	190
Hoshour, S. K.....	26
Hostetler, Joseph.....	18 ff.
Howard county, mounds in.....	35
Howe, D. W., "Making a Capital in the Wilderness," reviewed.....	133
Howe, Judge D. W., historical work of.....	139
<i>Index of Historical Articles in Indiana Newspapers</i> , FLORENCE VENN.....	55-58, 96-100, 127-130, 170-174
Indians—Early Contributions from the Friends.....	87-88
Indian mounds.....	33-42
<i>Indiana Banks, The First</i> , LOGAN ESARY.....	144-158
Indiana Historical Society, meeting of.....	186
Indiana Historical Society Publications.....	132-136
Indianapolis Council Proceedings.....	139
"Indianapolis, History of," Jacob P. Dunn, reviewed.....	187-189
Indianapolis, founding of.....	133
Indianapolis, Lockerbie's Assessment List of, 1835.....	133, 134-135
Indianapolis, settlement of.....	188
Jameson, Thomas.....	30
Knox county, mounds in.....	39-40
Lafayette, Ind.....	190
<i>Lake County, The Institutional History of</i> , KATHERINE C. SWARTZ.....	158-170
LAPP, JOHN A., <i>The Public Documents of Indiana</i>	105-113
Lindley, Harlow, "William Clark".....	132
Little, John T., and Abraham.....	24
<i>Local History, Bibliography of</i> , LILIAN HENLEY.....	43-54
"Lockerbie's Assessment List of Indianapolis, 1835".....	133, 134-135
McCormick, John.....	188
Madison, early bank at.....	145-146
Madison county, mounds in.....	35-37
<i>Marion County, Divorce in</i> , WILLIAM S. GARBER.....	1-16
Marion County, "Names of Persons Enumerated in, at the Fifth Cen- sus".....	132, 134
Marriage and divorce as seen in the Marion county courts.....	1-16

INDEX

v

	Page
Miller, Marguerite, "Home Folks," reviewed.....	190
"Monroe County, Scotch-Irish Presbyterians in," J. A. Woodburn, re- viewed.....	135-136
<i>Mounds and Inclosures in Indiana</i> , BARCUS TICHENOR.....	33-42
New Harmony, early bank at.....	144
<i>Newspaper Index of Historical Articles in Indiana</i> , FLORENCE VENN.....	55-58, 96-100, 127-130, 170-174
<i>Noblesville, Settlement of</i> , J. G. FINCH.....	75-80
Ohio county, mounds in.....	41
O'Kane, John.....	26
Pogue, George.....	188
<i>Public Documents in Indiana</i> , JOHN A. LAPP.....	105-113
<i>Railroad, The Underground in Indiana</i> , JULIA S. CONKLIN.....	63-74
Randolph county, mounds in.....	37-38
Reeves, Benjamin F.....	26
Revolutionary Soldier, Funeral Notice of.....	101-102
School journal, first in Indiana.....	118-126
"Scotch-Irish Presbyterians in Monroe County," J. A. Woodburn, re- viewed.....	135-136
SKINNER, HUBERT M., <i>Brookville's Rounded Century</i>	81-86
State Teachers' Association, History Section of.....	101
Sullivan county, mounds in.....	39-40
"Sullivan County, History of," Thomas J. Wolfe, reviewed.....	103-104
<i>Sunday-School Convention, First in Indiana</i> , GEORGE S. COTTMAN.....	89-90
SWARTZ, KATHERINE C., <i>The Institutional History of Lake County</i>	158-170
Thompson, John T.....	25 ff.
TICHENOR, BARCUS, <i>Ancient Mounds and Enclosures in Indiana</i>	33-42
"Tippecanoe County, Past and Present of," R. P. DeHart, reviewed.....	189-190
Tipton county, mounds in.....	35
<i>Town History, Bibliography of</i> , LILIAN HENLEY.....	91-95
TRUSTY, H. CLAY, <i>Formation of the Christian Church in Indiana</i>	17
<i>Underground Railroad in Indiana</i> , JULIA S. CONKLIN.....	63-74
Vanderburgh county, mounds in.....	41-42
Vawter, Beverly.....	18 ff.
VENN, FLORENCE, <i>Index of Historical Articles in Indiana News- papers</i>	55-58, 96-100, 127-130, 170-174
Vevay, early bank at.....	148 ff.
Vincennes, early bank at.....	144, 146-158
Vincennes, mounds at.....	39-40
Vincennes, Steam Mill at.....	153 ff.
West, H. F., editor "Common School Advocate".....	118
Westfield, Underground Railroad at.....	66 ff.
Woodburn, J. A., "Scotch-Irish Presbyterians in Monroe County," re- viewed.....	135-136
Wright, John.....	18 ff.

	Page
ESARY, LOGAN, <i>The First Indiana Banks</i>	144-158
Fulton county, pioneers of.....	190
<i>Friends—Early Contribution to the Indians</i>	87-88
<i>Formation of the Christian Churches in Indiana</i> , H. CLAY TRUSTY.....	17-32
Finch family, settlement at Noblesville.....	75 ff.
GARBER, WILLIAM S., <i>Divorce in Marion County</i>	1-16
<i>Hamilton County, Settlement of Noblesville</i> , J. G. FINCH.....	75-80
HENLEY, LILIAN, <i>Bibliography of Local History</i>	43-54
Henry county, mounds in.....	38
Henry, W. E., "Some Elements of Indiana's Population; or Roads West and Their Early Travelers".....	133-134
History Section of State Teachers' Association.....	101
"Home Folks," Marguerite Miller, reviewed.....	190
Hoshour, S. K.....	26
Hostetler, Joseph.....	18 ff.
Howard county, mounds in.....	35
Howe, D. W., "Making a Capital in the Wilderness," reviewed.....	133
Howe, Judge D. W., historical work of.....	139
<i>Index of Historical Articles in Indiana Newspapers</i> , FLORENCE VENN.....	55-58, 96-100, 127-130, 170-174
Indians—Early Contributions from the Friends.....	87-88
Indian mounds.....	33-42
<i>Indiana Banks, The First</i> , LOGAN ESARY.....	144-158
Indiana Historical Society, meeting of.....	186
Indiana Historical Society Publications.....	132-136
Indianapolis Council Proceedings.....	139
"Indianapolis, History of," Jacob P. Dunn, reviewed.....	187-189
Indianapolis, founding of.....	133
Indianapolis, Lockerbie's Assessment List of, 1835.....	133, 134-135
Indianapolis, settlement of.....	188
Jameson, Thomas.....	30
Knox county, mounds in.....	39-40
Lafayette, Ind.....	190
<i>Lake County, The Institutional History of</i> , KATHERINE C. SWARTZ.....	158-170
LAPP, JOHN A., <i>The Public Documents of Indiana</i>	105-113
Lindley, Harlow, "William Clark".....	132
Little, John T., and Abraham.....	24
<i>Local History, Bibliography of</i> , LILIAN HENLEY.....	43-54
"Lockerbie's Assessment List of Indianapolis, 1835".....	133, 134-135
McCormick, John.....	188
Madison, early bank at.....	145-146
Madison county, mounds in.....	35-37
<i>Marion County, Divorce in</i> , WILLIAM S. GARBER.....	1-16
Marion County, "Names of Persons Enumerated in, at the Fifth Cen- sus".....	132, 134
Marriage and divorce as seen in the Marion county courts.....	1-16

INDEX

v

	Page
Miller, Marguerite, "Home Folks," reviewed.....	190
"Monroe County, Scotch-Irish Presbyterians in," J. A. Woodburn, re- viewed.....	135-136
<i>Mounds and Inclosures in Indiana</i> , BARCUS TICHENOR.....	33-42
New Harmony, early bank at.....	144
<i>Newspaper Index of Historical Articles in Indiana</i> , FLORENCE VENN.....	55-58, 96-100, 127-130, 170-174
<i>Noblesville, Settlement of</i> , J. G. FINCH.....	75-80
Ohio county, mounds in.....	41
O'Kane, John.....	26
Pogue, George.....	188
<i>Public Documents in Indiana</i> , JOHN A. LAPP.....	105-113
<i>Railroad, The Underground in Indiana</i> , JULIA S. CONKLIN.....	63-74
Randolph county, mounds in.....	37-38
Reeves, Benjamin F.....	26
Revolutionary Soldier, Funeral Notice of.....	101-102
School journal, first in Indiana.....	118-126
"Scotch-Irish Presbyterians in Monroe County," J. A. Woodburn, re- viewed.....	135-136
SKINNER, HUBERT M., <i>Brookville's Rounded Century</i>	81-86
State Teachers' Association, History Section of.....	101
Sullivan county, mounds in.....	39-40
"Sullivan County, History of," Thomas J. Wolfe, reviewed.....	103-104
<i>Sunday-School Convention, First in Indiana</i> , GEORGE S. COTTMAN.....	89-90
SWARTZ, KATHERINE C., <i>The Institutional History of Lake County</i>	158-170
Thompson, John T.....	25 ff.
TICHENOR, BARCUS, <i>Ancient Mounds and Enclosures in Indiana</i>	33-42
"Tippecanoe County, Past and Present of," R. P. DeHart, reviewed.....	189-190
Tipton county, mounds in.....	35
<i>Town History, Bibliography of</i> , LILIAN HENLEY.....	91-95
TRUSTY, H. CLAY, <i>Formation of the Christian Church in Indiana</i>	17
<i>Underground Railroad in Indiana</i> , JULIA S. CONKLIN.....	63-74
Vanderburgh county, mounds in.....	41-42
Vawter, Beverly.....	18 ff.
VENN, FLORENCE, <i>Index of Historical Articles in Indiana News- papers</i>	55-58, 96-100, 127-130, 170-174
Vevay, early bank at.....	148 ff.
Vincennes, early bank at.....	144, 146-158
Vincennes, mounds at.....	39-40
Vincennes, Steam Mill at.....	153 ff.
West, H. F., editor "Common School Advocate".....	118
Westfield, Underground Railroad at.....	66 ff.
Woodburn, J. A., "Scotch-Irish Presbyterians in Monroe County," re- viewed.....	135-136
Wright, John.....	18 ff.







